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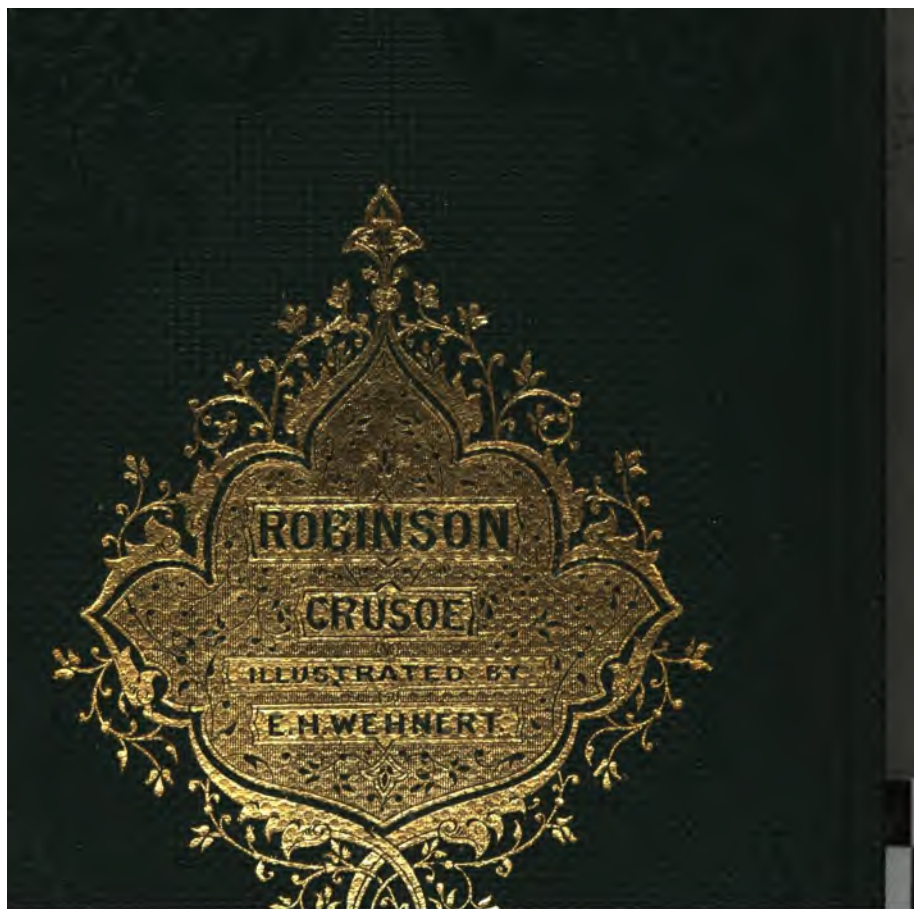
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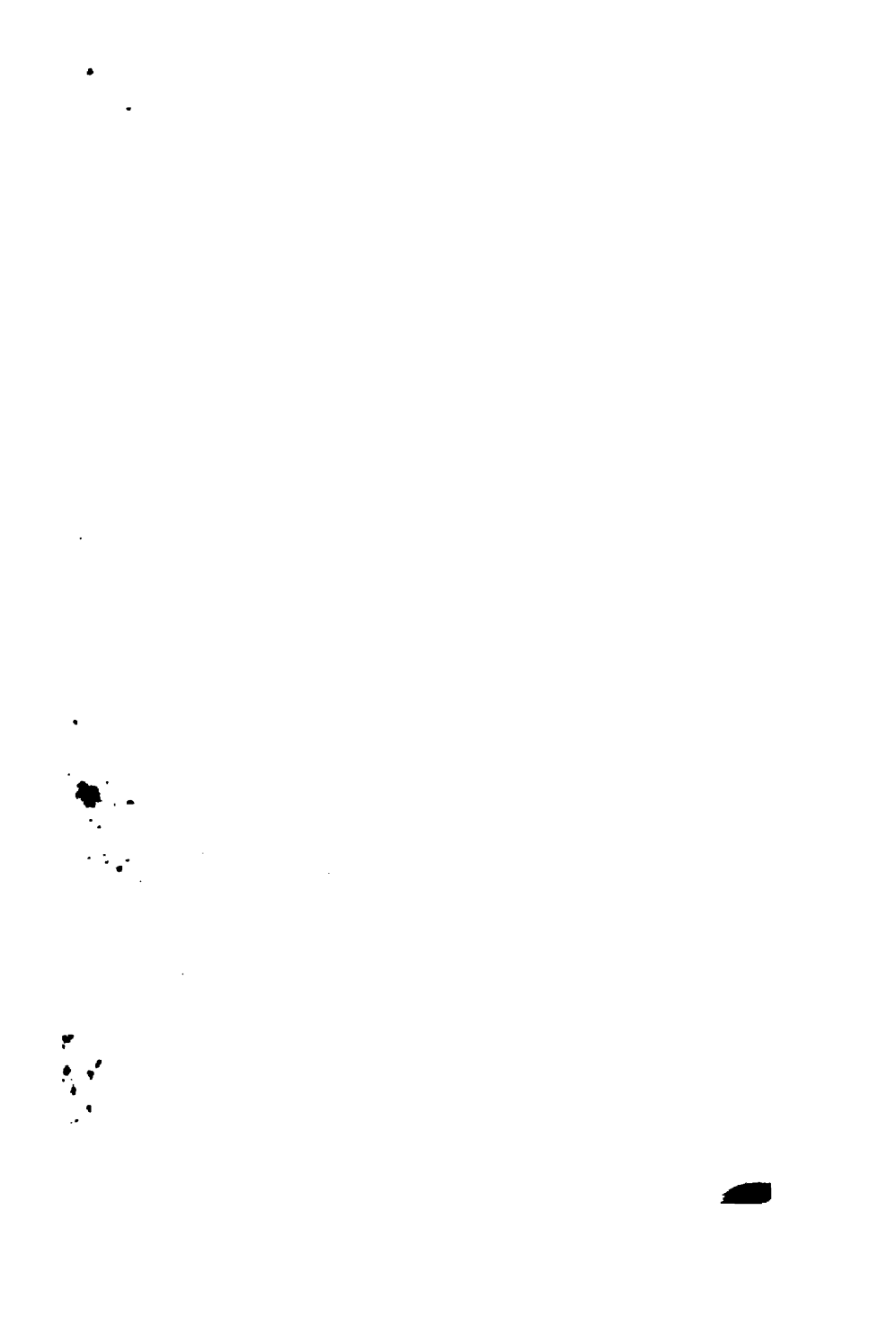
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CRUSOE FINDING THE PRINT OF A MAN'S FOOT



THE
LIFE AND ADVENTURES
OF
ROBINSON CRUSOE.

BY DANIEL DEFOE.

WITH ONE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS
BY EDWARD H. WEHNERT.



LONDON:
BELL AND DALDY, 186, FLEET STREET.

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P R E F A C E.

THE Life and surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe is one of the books which seem to be written for all time. Like Shakspere, Pilgrim's Progress, and, if we may venture on the comparison, Holy Scripture, it never gets old, but is ever fresh and racy; the style is plain and homely, but beautiful and generally clear—paragraph after paragraph occurs in which no word exceeds two syllables—and though delightful to all classes, it addresses itself especially to those with the simplest comprehension. The minuteness of detail, the leaf-painting, so to speak, with which the hero's occupations are described, his odd reflections and quaint moralizing, but especially the characteristic energy with which he sets about repairing the several disasters he meets with; and the simplicity, not without a little unconscious bravado, with which he shoulders his two guns and girds on his old ship's cutlass; and the ingenuity, not unmingled with simplicity, with which he sets about the construction of his boat, and afterwards of his battery of old ship's muskets, when he discovers the visits of the cannibals to his island; his attachment to his goats and his parrot, and above all to Friday, are all so many justifications of the favour he finds with seafaring men and boys, and with the illiterate classes generally.

The reader's attention is fixed by an artless chain of incidents natural under the supposed circumstances, and told in a concise manner without embellishment, but deriving interest from the mode of telling the story; "under the guidance of natural reason," to use the words of Marmontel, "it points to the Almighty as the source of man's capabilities;" or as Sir Walter Scott has it in the Ballantyne Edition, "The ways of Providence are simply and pleasantly vindicated, and a lasting and useful moral conveyed through the channel of an interesting and delightful story."

While no doubts exist about the literary parentage of the book—for Defoe was the acknowledged author—it will ever remain a mystery whether it is a pure fiction

founded on the general idea of Selkirk's story, or the result of a more minute knowledge of his adventures in all their details. His own preface, in which he assumes to be merely the Editor of the work, probably originated this later notion; it is very characteristic: "If ever the story of any private man's adventures in the world were worth making public, the Editor of this work thinks that it will be so. The wonders of his life exceed all that he thinks are to be found extant; the life of one man being scarce capable of greater variety. The story is told with modesty, with seriousness, and with religious application of events to the uses to which wise men always apply them, viz. to the instruction of others by example, and to justify and honour the wisdom of Providence in all the variety of their circumstances, let them happen how they will. The Editor believes the thing to be a just history of facts, neither is there any appearance of fiction in it. However this may be, for all such things may be disputed, he is of opinion that the improvement of it, as well to the diversion as the instruction of the reader, will be the same; and as such, he thinks, without further compliment to the world, he does them a great service in the publication."

Such was the slight veil with which Defoe himself sought to conceal the authorship of the work. In the preface to his "Serious Reflections on the Life and Adventures" which he published subsequently, he says that the story, though allegorical, was also historical; and after recounting a number of particulars which he tells us had a real foundation in history, he continues: "The adventures of Robinson Crusoe are one whole scene of a real life of eight and twenty years, spent in the most wandering, desolate, and afflicting circumstances that ever a man went through: and in which I have lived so long a life of wonders, in continual storms, fought with the worst kind of savages and man-eaters, by unaccountably surprising accidents, fed by miracles greater than that of the ravens, suffered all manner of violences and oppressions, injurious reproaches, contempt of men, attacks of devils, corrections from heaven, and oppositions on earth, have had innumerable ups and downs in matters of fortune, been in worse than Turkish slavery, and escaped by exquisite management, as in the story of Mully and the boat at Sallee, been taken up at sea in distress, raised again, and again depressed, and that oftener perhaps than ever was known before in one man's life; shipwrecked often, though more on land than by sea; in a word, there's not a circumstance in the imaginary story, but has its just allusion to a real story, and chimes in fact for fact, and step for step, with the inimitable life of Robinson Crusoe."

Here the Author seems almost to drop the veil and avow the fictitious character of the work, and in doing so he seems also to identify himself with the adventurer, speaking in the first person in part of the paragraph. The truth probably is, that the adventures of Alexander Selkirk, which had been making considerable noise in the literary circles for some years previous to the appearance of Robinson Crusoe, had made a strong impression on Defoe. As a literary man, he could

hardly avoid picking up all that was known of Selkirk's adventures, perhaps talked with him. Other stories of maritime adventure were floating about; and out of these materials his was the genius especially qualified to construct the story as it has reached us. Defoe's own career was peculiar. His father a small London tradesman, he himself was brought up to trade, and he entered into business as a hosier, in which he failed. He afterwards turned to literature, and became the great pamphleteer of his day—politics and other controversial polemics being his favourite subjects. Twice he suffered imprisonment, which probably subdued his fervour for political writing, for after his second imprisonment we find him turning his attention to subjects strictly literary. He wrote the *History of the Plague*, which is distinguished by the same matter-of-fact attention to detail which distinguishes *Robinson Crusoe*. He afterwards produced five or six novels of very considerable merit; but probably his name would not have survived his own epoch but for this remarkable tale.

Alexander Selkirk, or Seleraig as he is sometimes called, a native of Largo, a fishing town on the coast of Fife, was born in 1676. A spoilt child, and a moody and wayward man, he left home about 1695 and was absent five or six years, having, it is said, been buccaneering in the Spanish Main. He was again home in 1701, and shortly after we find him engaging with Captain Dampier for another cruise, in the course of which the uninhabited island of Juan Fernandez was visited by the ships of the expedition to refit. Here a violent quarrel seems to have taken place between Selkirk and his immediate commanding officer Stradling. The ships return to the island after a short absence, and Selkirk determines to leave them there rather than remain under the command of Stradling—bidding adieu to his comrades, in September, 1704. Here he remained four years and four months, when the ship *Duke*, Captain Rogers, happened to call at the island and released him from his voluntary exile in February, 1709. He sailed in the *Duke* during a long and fatiguing cruise, giving great satisfaction to his captain; and, in 1711, the ship returned to England: Selkirk having in the meantime realized £800 in wages and prize-money. His story created a great sensation. Captain Rogers published one account of his adventures on the island, and there would appear to have been ten others issued. Sir Richard Steele visited him, and gives a short narrative of his conversation with Selkirk, which reads not very unlike a chapter of *Robinson Crusoe*. "It was matter of great curiosity," writes Sir Richard, "to hear him, as he is a man of good sense, give an account of the different revolutions in his mind in that long solitude. He was put ashore from a leaky vessel, with the captain of which he had an irreconcilable quarrel; his portion was a sea-chest, his wearing clothes and bedding, a firelock, a pound of gunpowder, a parcel of bullets, a flint and steel, a few pounds of tobacco, a hatchet, a knife, a kettle, a Bible, and a few other books of devotion, with some others concerning his instruments."

Of the use Defoe made of these materials we gather from the Editor of a modern edition of the work, "That but for Defoe this man's narrative would not have outlived his own day. Robinson Crusoe," he continues, "is a most skilful romance, of which the first idea indeed may be borrowed from this strange story; but the incidents, reflections, and characters, as well as the arrangement and execution, are truly and entirely Defoe's; and the same sort of criticism that would detract from the merit of its Author, would affect all the most celebrated epic, and almost all the dramatic, poems in the world. He took no more of Robinson Crusoe from Selkirk's story than Shakspeare did of Macbeth and Hamlet from Scotch and Danish chronicles, or of Romeo and Juliet from the Italian ballad."

And such, no doubt, would have been the verdict of his contemporaries; but as a political and controversial writer Defoe had numerous and bitter enemies. His work, therefore, was assailed with envenomed and bitter satire, but no attack was made impugning his integrity so long as he lived to repel it; after his death, however, it was boldly asserted that he had possessed himself of Selkirk's papers, and surreptitiously applied them to his own use. This assertion has been sufficiently disproved, but not until the calumny had been established in some respectable channels. It is now, however, pretty well understood that the romance is entirely Defoe's, based on the slight fabric furnished by Selkirk's story.

Robinson Crusoe was published in April, 1719; the "Further Adventures" being published four months later, and it has the credit, in common with some of the most popular books in our language, of having been in the hands of every leading publisher before one was found willing to incur the cost of printing it. At length Mr. Taylor was fortunate enough to undertake its publication. The success was wonderful; in four months it had reached its fifth edition; nearly every printing office in London was employed in producing it, and the publisher is said to have cleared £1,000 by it the first year. This great success produced a second part, of which it is only necessary to say that, like most continuations, the Author's reputation and the character of the book would have been benefited had it never appeared; but having made its appearance, no edition of the work can now be considered complete without it. Attempts were also made to invade the Author's and Publisher's rights by abridgment, which called forth bitter complaints from both, and legal proceedings against the publishers of the abridgment.

Of its merits, the most eminent critics of all nations express the highest opinion. Dr. Johnson, in conversation with Mrs. Thrale, says: "Was there ever anything written by mere man that the reader wished to be longer excepting Don Quixote, Robinson Crusoe, and Pilgrim's Progress?" Blair says,—"No fiction in any language was ever better supported; while it is carried on with that appearance of truth and simplicity which takes a strong hold on the imagination, it suggests at the same time very useful instruction, by showing how much the native powers

of man may be exerted for surmounting difficulties." Charles Lamb considers "the appearance of truth in the incidents and conversations to exceed every work of fiction with which he was acquainted—it is perfect illusion. The Author never appears in these self narratives, but the narrator chains us down to an implicit belief in everything he says. There is all the minute detail of a log-book in it; facts are repeated over and over again in varying phrases, till you cannot choose but believe them. It is like reading evidence in a court of justice; and so anxious is he that the truth should be clearly comprehended, that when he has related the fact he repeats it again a few lines below with his favourite *I say so and so*." Marmontel says, Robinson Crusoe was the first book he read with exquisite pleasure, and he believes that every boy in Europe may say the same thing. While youth and ignorance have alike found scope for entertainment in the incidents told with the simplicity and the similitude of real life, it has commended itself to the more enlightened as one of those rare efforts of genius which places its Author in the first rank among writers of invention. As a narrative replete with incident, it stands unrivalled for its natural and easy transitions; its whole machinery being strictly subservient to the main object of the story. Crusoe is strictly a child of nature, assisted by circumstances that rise naturally out of the peculiar events by which he is surrounded; there is an air of plausibility, or rather reality, in all particulars of his story even to the minutest, so that the reader reluctantly admits any part of the book to be fiction.

"Since we must have books," writes Rousseau, "this is one which, in my opinion, is a most excellent treatise on natural education. This is the first my Emilins shall read, his whole library shall consist of this only; it shall be the text on which all our conversations on natural science are to serve only as comments; it shall guide us in our progress to maturity of judgment, and so long as our taste is unsophisticated, the perusal of this book shall afford us pleasure."

More subdued in his commendations than the philosopher of Geneva, Dr. Beattie says,—“The work must be allowed by the rigid moralist to be one of those novels which one may read not only with pleasure, but profit. It breathes throughout a spirit of piety and benevolence, and sets in a very striking light the importance of the mechanic arts; it fixes in the mind a lively idea of the horrors of solitude, and of the sweets of social life, and of the blessings we derive from conversation and mutual aid; and it shows how by labouring with one's hand one may secure independence, and open for oneself many sources of health and contentment. I agree therefore with Rousseau, that this is one of the best books that can be put into the hands of children.”

Innumerable have been the imitations of Robinson Crusoe in our own and other languages; it is almost the only English book which has been translated into the Portuguese language. It has been translated into French, Dutch, German, Russian, Greek and Latin, and the enterprising traveller, John Lewis Burckhardt,

wrote the tale in Arabic, much to the delight of the children of the desert who heard it. The idea was imitated by Philip Quarl, an Englishman, who professes to have spent fifty years of his life in similar solitude on an island of the Pacific, like Robinson,

Monarch of all he surveyed.

Monsieur de Campe, taking some hints from the book, produced a *nouveau* Robinson Crusoe—a meagre imitation of the original. Probably the most successful of these imitative efforts, however, is the Swiss Robinson Crusoe, the only one of them which has a place in the literary marts in our day.

With respect to the present Edition, its chief recommendation will be Mr. Wehnert's numerous illustrations, and its beautiful typography. But some care has also been bestowed upon the text. It has been reprinted from the best of the old editions, and every effort has been made to correct such errors as had crept into it from the imperfect typography of the period.



THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES
OF
ROBINSON CRUSOE.



WAS born in the year 1632, in the city of York, of a good family, though not of that country, my father being a foreigner of Bremen, who settled first at Hull: he got a good estate by merchandise, and leaving off his trade, lived afterward at York; from whence he had married my mother, whose relations were named Robinson, a very good family in that country, and from whom I was called Robinson Kreutznaer; but by the usual corruption of words in England, we are now called, nay, we call ourselves, and write our name Crusoe; and so my companions always called me.

I had two elder brothers, one of whom was lieutenant-colonel to an English regiment of Foot in Flanders, formerly commanded by the famous Colonel Lockhart, and was killed at the battle near Dunkirk against the Spaniards. What became of my second brother I never knew, any more than my father or mother knew what became of me.

Being the third son of the family, and not bred to any trade, my head began to be filled very early with rambling thoughts. My father, who

was very ancient, had given me a competent share of learning, as far as house education and a country free school generally goes, and designed me for the law; but I would be satisfied with nothing but going to sea; and my inclination to this led me so strongly against the will, nay, the commands of my father, and against all the entreaties and persuasions of my mother and other friends, that there seemed to be something fatal in that propension of nature tending directly to the life of misery which was to befall me.

My father, a wise and grave man, gave me serious and excellent counsel against what he foresaw was my design. He called me one morning into his chamber, where he was confined by the gout, and expostulated very warmly with me upon this subject: he asked me what reasons, more than a mere wandering inclination, I had for leaving my father's house and my native country, where I might be well introduced, and had a prospect of raising my fortune by application and industry, with a life of ease and pleasure. He told me it was for men of desperate fortunes on one hand, or of aspiring superior fortunes on the other, who went abroad upon adventures, to rise by enterprise, and make themselves famous in undertakings of a nature out of the common road; that these things were all either too far above me, or too far below me; that mine was the middle state, or what might be called the upper station of low life, which he had found by long experience was the best state in the world, the most suited to human happiness, not exposed to the miseries and hardships, the labour and sufferings of the mechanic part of mankind, and not embarrassed with the pride, luxury, ambition, and envy of the upper part of mankind. He told me, I might judge of the happiness of this state, by this one thing, namely, that this was the state of life which all other people envied; that kings have frequently lamented the miserable consequences of being born to great things, and wish they had been placed in the middle of the two extremes, between the mean and the great; that the wise man gave his testimony to this, as the just standard of true felicity, when he prayed to have neither poverty nor riches.

He bade me observe it, and I should always find, that the calamities of life were shared among the upper and lower part of mankind; but that the middle station had the fewest disasters, and was not exposed to so many vicissitudes as the higher or lower part of mankind; nay, they were not subjected to so many distempers and uneasinesses either of body or mind, as those were who, by vicious living, luxury, and extravagancies on one hand, or by hard labour, want of necessaries, and



CRUSOE'S FATHER GIVING HIS ADVICE

mean or insufficient diet on the other hand, bring distempers upon themselves by the natural consequences of their way of living ; that the middle station of life was calculated for all kind of virtues and all kind of enjoyments ; that peace and plenty were the handmaids of a middle fortune ; that temperance, moderation, quietness, health, society, all agreeable diversions, and all desirable pleasures, were the blessings attending the middle station of life ; that this way men went silently and smoothly through the world, and comfortably out of it, not embarrassed with the labours of the hands or of the head, not sold to the life of slavery for daily bread, or harassed with perplexed circumstances, which rob the soul of peace, and the body of rest ; not enraged with the passion of envy, or secret burning lust of ambition for great things ; but in easy circumstances sliding gently through the world, and sensibly tasting the sweets of living without the bitter, feeling that they are happy, and learning by every day's experience to know it more sensibly.

After this, he pressed me earnestly, and in the most affectionate manner, not to play the young man, not to precipitate myself into miseries which nature and the station of life I was born in seemed to have provided against ; that I was under no necessity of seeking my bread ; that he would do well for me, and endeavour to enter me fairly into the station of life which he had been just recommending to me ; and that if I was not very easy and happy in the world, it must be my mere fate or fault that must hinder it, and that he should have nothing to answer for, having thus discharged his duty in warning me against measures which he knew would be to my hurt ; in a word, that as he would do very kind things for me if I would stay and settle at home as he directed, so he would not have so much hand in my misfortunes, as to give me any encouragement to go away ; and to close all, he told me I had my elder brother for an example, to whom he had used the same earnest persuasions to keep him from going into the Low Country wars, but could not prevail, his young desires prompting him to run into the army, where he was killed ; and though he said he would not cease to pray for me, yet he would venture to say to me, that if I did take this foolish step, God would not bless me, and I would have leisure hereafter to reflect upon having neglected his counsel when there might be none to assist in my recovery.

I observed in this last part of his discourse,—which was truly prophetic, though I suppose my father did not know it to be so himself,—I say, I observed the tears run down his face very plentifully, and especially when he spoke of my brother who was killed ; and that when

he spoke of my having leisure to repent, and none to assist me, he was so moved, that he broke off the discourse, and told me, his heart was so full, he could say no more to me.

I was sincerely affected with this discourse, as, indeed, who could be otherwise, and I resolved not to think of going abroad any more, but to settle at home according to my father's desire. But, alas ! a few days wore it all off ; and, in short, to prevent any of my father's further importunities, in a few weeks after I resolved to run quite away from him. However, I did not act so hastily neither, as my first heat of resolution prompted, but I took my mother, at a time when I thought her a little pleasanter than ordinary, and told her that my thoughts were so entirely bent upon seeing the world, that I should never settle to anything with resolution enough to go through with it, and my father had better give me his consent than force me to go without it ; that I was now eighteen years old, which was too late to go apprentice to a trade, or clerk to an attorney ; that I was sure, if I did, I should never serve out my time, and I should certainly run away from my master before my time was out, and go to sea ; and if she would speak to my father to let me go but one voyage abroad, if I came home again and did not like it, I would go no more, and I would promise by a double diligence to recover that time I had lost.

This put my mother into a great passion : she told me, she knew it would be to no purpose to speak to my father upon any such subject ; that he knew too well what was my interest to give his consent to anything so much for my hurt, and that she wondered how I could think of any such thing after such a discourse as I had had from my father, and such kind and tender expressions as she knew my father had used to me, and that, in short, if I would ruin myself, there was no help for me ; but I might depend I should never have their consent to it ; that for her part she would not have so much hand in my destruction ; and I should never have it to say, that my mother was willing when my father was not.

‘ Though my mother refused to move it to my father, yet, as I heard afterwards, she reported all the discourse to him, and that my father, after showing a great concern at it, said to her, with a sigh, “That boy might be happy if he would stay at home, but if he goes abroad, he will be the most miserable wretch that was ever born ; I can give no consent to it.”

It was not till almost a year after this that I broke loose, though in the mean time I continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of settling to business, and frequently expostulating with my father and mother

about their being so positively determined against what they knew my inclinations prompted me to. But being one day at Hull, where I went casually, and without any purpose of making an elopement that time—but I say, being there, and one of my companions being about to sail to London, in his father's ship, and prompting me to go with them, with the common allurements of seafaring men, namely, that it should cost me nothing for my passage, I consulted neither father nor mother any more, nor so much as sent them word of it; but leaving them to hear of it as they might, without asking God's blessing, or my father's, without any consideration of circumstances or consequences, and in an ill hour—God knows—on the first of September, 1651, I went on board a ship bound for London. Never



any young adventurer's misfortunes, I believe, began sooner, or continued longer than mine. The ship was no sooner gotten out of the Humber, but the wind began to blow, and the waves to rise in a most frightful manner; and as I had never been at sea before, I was most inexpressibly sick in body, and terrified in mind. I began now seriously to reflect upon what I had done, and how justly I was overtaken by the judgment of Heaven for my wicked leaving my father's house, and abandoning my duty; all the good counsel of my parents, my father's tears and my mother's entreaties, came now fresh into my mind, and my conscience, which was not yet come to the pitch of hardness to which it has been since, reproached me with the contempt of advice, and the breach of my duty to God and my father.

All this while the storm increased, and the sea, which I had never been upon before, went very high, though nothing like what I have seen many times since ; no, nor like what I saw a few days after : but it was enough to affect me then, who was but a young sailor, and had never known anything of the matter. I expected every wave would have swallowed us up, and that every time the ship fell down, as I thought, in the trough or hollow of the sea, we should never rise more ; and in this agony of mind I made many vows and resolutions, that if it would please God here to spare my life this one voyage, if ever I got once my foot upon dry land again I would go directly home to my father, and never set it into a ship again while I lived ; that I would take his advice and never run myself into such miseries as these any more. Now I saw plainly the goodness of his observations about the middle station of life, how easy, how comfortably he had lived all his days, and never had been exposed to tempests at sea, or troubles on shore ; and I resolved that I would, like a true repenting prodigal, go home to my father.

These wise and sober thoughts continued all the while the storm continued, and indeed some time after ; but the next day the wind was abated and the sea calmer, and I began to be a little inured to it : however, I was very grave for all that day, being also a little sea-sick still ; but towards night the weather cleared up, the wind was quite over, and a charming fine evening followed ; the sun went down perfectly clear, and rose so the next morning ; and having little or no wind, and a smooth sea, the sun shining upon it, the sight was, as I thought, the most delightful that ever I saw.

I had slept well in the night, and was now no more sea-sick, but very cheerful, looking with wonder upon the sea that was so rough and terrible the day before, and could be so calm and so pleasant in so little time after. And now, lest my good resolutions should continue, my companion, who had indeed enticed me away, comes to me. "Well, Bob," says he, (clapping me upon the shoulder,) "how do you do after it ? I warrant you were frightened, wan't you, last night, when it blew but a cap full of wind ?" "A cap full do you call it ?" said I. "It was a terrible storm." "A storm, you fool you," replies he, "do you call that a storm ? why it was nothing at all ; give us but a good ship and sea-room, and we think nothing of such a squall of wind as that ; but you're but a fresh-water sailor, Bob : come, let us make a bowl of punch, and we'll forget all that. Do you see what charming weather it is now ?" To make short this sad part of my story, we went the old way of all sailors ; the punch was made, and I was made

drunk with it, and in that one night's wickedness I drowned all my repentance, all my reflections upon my past conduct, and all my resolutions for my future. In a word, as the sea was returned to its smoothness of surface and settled calmness by the abatement of that storm, so the hurry of my thoughts being over, my fears and apprehensions of being swallowed up by the sea being forgotten, and the current of my former desires returned, I entirely forgot the vows and promises that I made in my distress. I found indeed some intervals of reflection, and the serious thoughts did, as it were, endeavour to return again sometimes; but I shook them off, and roused myself from them as it were from a distemper, and applying myself to drink and company, soon mastered the return of those fits, for so I called them, and I had in five or six days got as complete a victory over conscience as any young fellow that resolved not to be troubled with it could desire. But I was to have another trial for it still; and Providence, as in such cases generally it does, resolved to leave me entirely without excuse. For if I would not take this for a deliverance, the next was to be such a one as the worst and most hardened wretch among us would confess both the danger and the mercy.

The sixth day of our being at sea we came into Yarmouth Roads; the wind having been contrary, and the weather calm, we had made but little way since the storm. Here we were obliged to come to an anchor, and here we lay, the wind continuing contrary, namely, at south-west, for seven or eight days, during which time a great many ships from Newcastle came into the same roads, as the common harbour where the ships might wait for a wind for the river.

We had not, however, rid here so long, but should have tided it up the river, but that the wind blew too fresh, and after we had lain four or five days blew very hard. However, the roads being reckoned as good as a harbour, the anchorage good, and our ground tackle very strong, our men were unconcerned, and not in the least apprehensive of danger, but spent the time in rest and mirth, after the manner of the sea; but the eighth day in the morning, the wind increased, and we had all hands at work to strike our top-masts, and make everything snug and close, that the ship might ride as easy as possible. By noon the sea went very high indeed, and our ship rid fore-castle in, shipped several seas, and we thought once or twice our anchor had come home; upon which our master ordered out the sheet anchor, so that we rode with two anchors a-head, and the cables veered out to the better end.

By this time it blew a terrible storm indeed; and now I began to see terror and amazement in the faces even of the seamen themselves. The

master, though vigilant in the business of preserving the ship, yet as he went in and out of his cabin by me, I could hear him softly to himself say several times, Lord, be merciful to us ; we shall be all lost, we shall be all undone, and the like. During these first hurries, I was stupid, lying still in my cabin, which was in the steerage, and cannot describe my temper. I could ill reassume the first penitence which I had so apparently trampled upon, and hardened myself against: I thought the bitterness of death had been past, and that this would be nothing like the first. But when the master himself came by me, as I said just now, and said we should be all lost, I was dreadfully frightened; I got up out of my cabin, and looked out; but such a dismal sight I never saw: the sea went mountains high, and broke upon us every three or four minutes: when I could look about, I could see nothing but distress round us: two ships that rid near us, we found, had cut their



masts by the board, being deep laden: and our men cried out, that a ship which rid about a mile a-head of us was foundered. Two more ships being driven from their anchors, were run out of the roads to sea at all adventures, and that with not a mast standing. The light ships fired the boat, as not so much labouring in the sea; but two or three of them drove, and came close by us, running away with only their spritsail out before the wind.

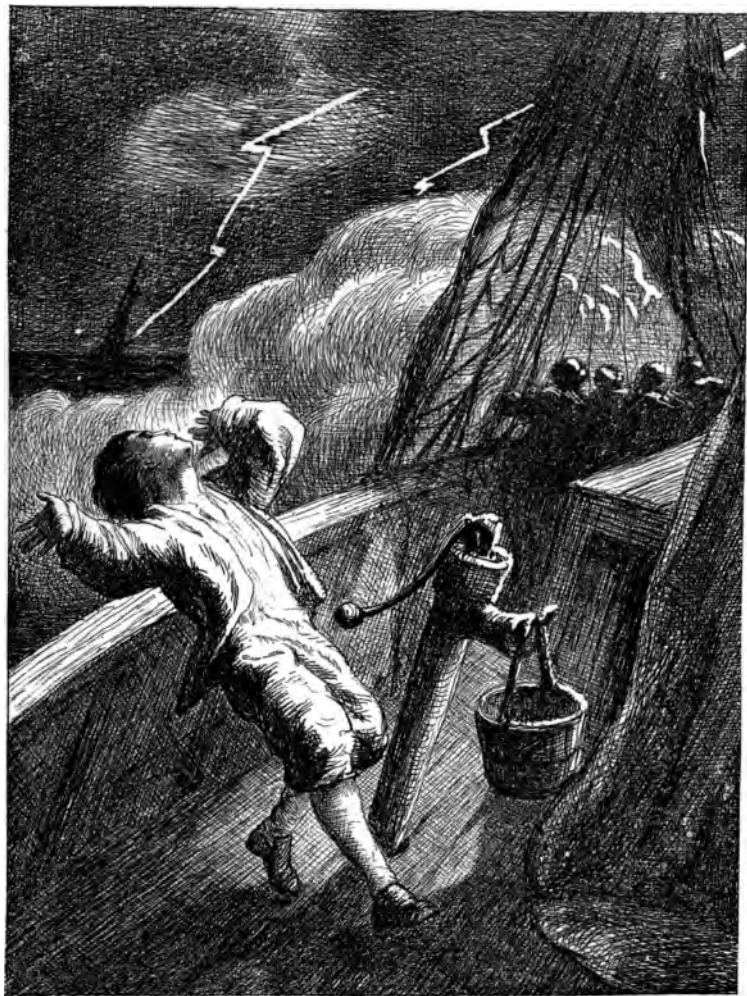
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CRUSOE SWOONING AWAY

mast, the main-mast stood so loose, and shook the ship so much, they were obliged to cut her away also, and make a clear deck.

Any one may judge what a condition I must be in at all this, who was but a young sailor, and who had been in such a fright before at but a little. But if I can express at this distance the thoughts I had about me at that time, I was in tenfold more horror of mind upon account of my former convictions, and the having returned from them to the resolutions I had wickedly taken at first, than I was at death itself; and these, added to the terror of the storm, put me into such a condition, that I can by no words describe it. But the worst was not come yet: the storm continued with such fury, that the seamen themselves acknowledged they had never known a worse. We had a good ship, but she was deep laden, and wallowed in the sea, that the seamen every now and then cried out she would founder. It was my advantage in one respect, that I did not know what they meant by founder, till I inquired. However, the storm was so violent, that I saw what is not often seen, the master, the boatswain, and some others more sensible than the rest at their prayers, and expecting every moment when the ship would go to the bottom. In the middle of the night, and under all the rest of our distresses, one of the men that had been down on purpose to see, cried out, we had sprung a leak; another said there was four foot water in the hold. Then all hands were called to the pump. At that very word my heart, as I thought, died within me, and I fell backwards upon the side of my bed where I sat, into the cabin. However, the men roused me, and told me, that I who was able to do nothing before, was as well able to pump as another: at which I stirred up, and went to the pump and worked very heartily. While this was doing, the master seeing some light colliers, who, not able to ride out the storm, were obliged to slip and run away to sea, and would not come near us, ordered to fire a gun as a signal of distress. I, who knew nothing what that meant, was so surprised, that I thought the ship had broke, or some dreadful thing happened. In a word I was so surprised, that I fell down in a swoon. As this was a time when everybody had his own life to think of, nobody minded me, or what was become of me; but another man stepped up to the pump, and thrusting me aside with his foot, let me lie, thinking I had been dead, and it was a great while before I came to myself.

We worked on, but the water increasing in the hold, it was apparent that the ship would founder; and though the storm began to abate a little, yet as it was not possible she could swim till we might run into a port, so the master continued firing guns for help; and a

light ship who had rid it out just a-head of us, ventured a boat out to help us. It was with the utmost hazard the boat came near us, but it was impossible for us to get on board, or for the boat to lie near the ship's side ; till at last, the men rowing very heartily, and venturing their lives to save ours, our men cast them a rope over the stern with the buoy to it, and then veered it out a great length, which they, after great labour and hazard, took hold of, and we hauled them close under our stern and got all into their boat. It was to no purpose for them or us after we were in the boat to think of reaching to their own ship, so all agreed to let her drive, and only to pull her in towards shore as much as we could, and our master promised them, that if the boat was staved upon shore he would make it good to their master ; so partly rowing and partly driving, our boat went away to the northward, sloping towards the shore almost as far as Winterton-Ness.

We were not much more than a quarter of an hour out of our ship before we saw her sink, and then I understood for the first time what was meant by a ship foundering in the sea. I must acknowledge I had hardly eyes to look up when the seamen told me she was sinking ; for from that moment they rather put me into the boat than that I might be said to go in : my heart was as it were dead within me, partly with fright, partly with horror of mind, and the thoughts of what was yet before me.

While we were in this condition, the men yet labouring at the oars to bring the boat near the shore, we could see (when our boat mounting the waves we were able to see the shore) a great many people running along the shore to assist us when we should come near ; but we made but slow way towards the shore, nor were we able to reach the shore, till being past the light-house at Winterton, the shore falls off to the westward towards Cromer, and so the land broke off a little the violence of the wind : here we got in, and, though not without much difficulty, got all safe on shore, and walked afterwards on foot to Yarmouth, where, as unfortunate men, we were used with great humanity, as well by the magistrates of the town, who assigned us good quarters, as by particular merchants and owners of ships, and had money given us sufficient to carry us either to London or back to Hull, as we thought fit.

Had I now had the sense to have gone back to Hull, and have gone home, I had been happy, and my father, an emblem of our blessed Saviour's parable, had even killed the fatted calf for me ; for hearing the ship I went away in was cast away in Yarmouth Road, it was a great while before he had any assurance that I was not drowned.

But my ill fate pushed me on now with an obstinacy that nothing could resist ; and though I had several times loud calls from my reason and my more composed judgment to go home, yet I had no power to do it. I know not what to call this, nor will I urge that it is a secret overruling decree that hurries us on to be the instruments of our own destruction, even though it be before us, and that we rush upon it with our eyes open. Certainly nothing but some such decreed unavoidable misery attending, and which it was impossible for me to escape, could have pushed me forward against the calm reasonings and persuasions of my most retired thoughts, and against two such visible instructions as I had met with in my first attempt.

My comrade, who had helped to harden me before, and who was the master's son, was now less forward than I. The first time he spoke to me after we were at Yarmouth, which was not till two or three days, for we were separated in the town to several quarters ; I say, the first time he saw me, it appeared his tone was altered ; and looking very melancholy, and shaking his head, asked me how I did, and telling his father who I was, and how I had come this voyage only for a trial, in order to go farther abroad ; his father, turning to me with a very grave and concerned tone, "Young man," says he, "you ought never to go to sea any more ; you ought to take this for a plain and visible token that you



are not to be a seafaring man." "Why, sir," said I, "will you go to sea no more ?" "That is another case," said he, "it is my calling, and therefore my duty ; but as you made this voyage for a trial, you see what a taste Heaven has given you of what you are to expect if you persist ; perhaps

this is all befallen us on your account, like Jonah, in the ship of Tarshish. Pray," continued he, "what are you? and on what account did you go to sea?" Upon that I told him some of my story; at the end of which he burst out with a strange kind of passion: "What had I done," says he, "that such an unhappy wretch should come into my ship? I would not set my foot in the same ship with thee again for a thousand pounds." However, he afterwards talked very gravely to me, exhorted me to go back to my father and not tempt Providence to my ruin; told me I might see a visible hand of Heaven against me. "And, young man," said he, "depend upon it if you do not go back, wherever you go, you will meet with nothing but disasters and disappointments, till your father's words are fulfilled upon you."

We parted soon after; for I made him little answer, and I saw him no more; which way he went, I know not. As for me, having some money in my pocket, I travelled to London by land; and there, as well as on the road, had many struggles with myself, what course of life I should take, and whether I should go home, or go to sea.

As to going home, shame opposed the best motions that offered to my thoughts; and it immediately occurred to me how I should be laughed at among the neighbours, and should be ashamed to see, not my father and mother only, but even everybody else; from whence I have since often observed, how incongruous and irrational the common temper of mankind is, especially of youth, to that reason which ought to guide them in such cases, namely, that they are not ashamed to sin, and yet are ashamed to repent; not ashamed of the action for which they ought justly to be esteemed fools, but are ashamed of the returning, which only can make them be esteemed wise men.

In this state of life, however, I remained some time, uncertain what measures to take, and what course of life to lead. An irresistible reluctance continued to going home; and as I stayed a while, the remembrance of the distress I had been in wore off, and as that abated, the little motion I had in my desires to a return wore off with it, till at last I quite laid aside the thoughts of it, and looked out for a voyage.

That evil influence which carried me first away from my father's house, that hurried me into the wild notion of raising my fortune, and that imprest those conceits so forcibly upon me, as to make me deaf to all good advice, and to the entreaties and even the command of my father; I say, the same influence, whatever it was, presented the most unfortunate of all enterprises to my view; and I went on board

a vessel bound to the coast of Africa, or, as our sailors vulgarly call it, a voyage to Guinea.

It was my great misfortune that in all these adventures I did not ship myself as a sailor ; whereby, though I might indeed have worked a little harder than ordinary, yet at the same time I had learned the duty and office of a fore-mast man and in time might have qualified myself for a mate or lieutenant, if not for a master. But as it was always my fate to choose for the worse, so I did here ; for having money in my pocket, and good clothes upon my back, I would always go on board in the habit of a gentleman, and so I neither had any business in the ship, nor learned to do any.

It was my lot first of all to fall into pretty good company in London, which does not always happen to such loose and unguided young fellows as I then was ; the devil generally not omitting to lay some snare for them very early : but it was not so with me. I first fell acquainted with the master of a ship who had been on the coast of Guinea, and who, having had very good success there, was resolved to go again ; and who, taking a fancy to my conversation, which was not at all disagreeable at that time, hearing me say I had a mind to see the world, told me if I would go the voyage with him I should be at no expense ; I should be his messmate and his companion, and if I could carry anything with me, I should have all the advantage of it that the trade would admit, and perhaps I might meet with some encouragement.

I embraced the offer, and entering into a strict friendship with this captain, who was an honest and plain-dealing man, I went the voyage with him, and carried a small adventure with me, which, by the disinterested honesty of my friend the captain, I increased very considerably ; for I carried about 40*l.* in such toys and trifles as the captain directed me to buy. This 40*l.* I had mustered together by the assistance of some of my relations whom I corresponded with, and who, I believe, got my father, or at least my mother, to contribute so much as that to my first adventure.

This was the only voyage which I may say was successful in all my adventures, and which I owe to the integrity and honesty of my friend the captain, under whom also I got a competent knowledge of the mathematics, and the rules of navigation, learned how to keep an account of the ship's course, take an observation, and, in short, to understand some things that were needful to be understood by a sailor ; for, as he took delight to instruct me, I took delight to learn, and, in a word, this voyage made me both a sailor and a merchant ; for I brought home five pounds nine ounces of gold dust for my adventure, which

yielded me in London at my return, almost 300*l.*, and this filled me with those aspiring thoughts which have since so completed my ruin.

Yet even in this voyage I had my misfortunes too ; particularly, that I was continually sick, being thrown into a violent fever by the excessive heat of the climate ; our principal trading being upon the coast, from the latitude of fifteen degrees north even to the line itself.

I was now set up for a Guinea trader ; and my friend, to my great misfortune, dying soon after his arrival, I resolved to go the same voyage again, and I embarked in the same vessel with one who was his mate in the former voyage, and had now got the command of the ship. This was the unhappiest voyage that ever man made ; for though I did not carry quite 100*l.* of my new gained wealth, so that I had 200*l.* left, and which I lodged with my friend's widow, who was very just to me, yet I fell into terrible misfortunes in this voyage ; and the first was this, namely : Our ship, making her course towards the Canary Islands, or rather between those islands and the African shore, was surprised in the grey of the morning by a Turkish rover of Sallee, who gave chase to us with all the sail she could make. We crowded also as much canvas as our yards would spread, or our masts carry, to have got clear ; but finding the pirate gained upon us, and would certainly come up with us in a few hours, we prepared to fight ; our ship having twelve guns,



and the rogue eighteen. About three in the afternoon he came up with us, and bringing to, by mistake, just athwart our quarter, instead of athwart our stern, as he intended, we brought eight of our guns to bear on that side, and poured in a broadside upon him, which made him sheer off again, after returning our fire, and pouring in also his small

shot from near 200 men which he had on board. However, we had not a man touched, all our men keeping close. He prepared to attack us again, and we to defend ourselves ; but laying us on board the next time upon our other quarter, he entered sixty men upon our decks, who immediately fell to cutting and hacking the decks and rigging. We plied them with small shot, half-pikes, powder-chests, and such like, and cleared our deck of them twice. However, to cut short this melancholy part of our story, our ship being disabled, and three of our men killed, and eight wounded, we were obliged to yield, and were carried all prisoners into Sallee, a port belonging to the Moors.

The usage I had there was not so dreadful as at first I apprehended, nor was I carried up the country to the emperor's court, as the rest of our men were, but was kept by the captain of the rover as his proper prize, and made his slave, being young and nimble, and fit for his business. At this surprising change of my circumstances, from a merchant to a miserable slave, I was perfectly overwhelmed ; and now I looked back upon my father's prophetic discourse to me, that I should be miserable, and have none to relieve me, which I thought was now so effectually brought to pass, that I could not be worse ; that now the hand of Heaven had overtaken me, and I was undone without redemption. But, alas ! this was but a taste of the misery I was to go through, as will appear in the sequel of the story.

As my new patron or master had taken me home to his house, so I was in hopes that he would take me with him when he went to sea again, believing that it would some time or other be his fate to be taken by a Spanish or Portuguese man of war, and that then I should be set at liberty. But this hope of mine was soon taken away ; for when he went to sea, he left me on shore to look after his little garden, and do the common drudgery of slaves about his house ; and when he came home again from his cruise, he ordered me to lie in the cabin to look after the ship.

Here I meditated nothing but my escape, and what method I might take to effect it, but found no way that had the least probability in it : nothing presented to make the supposition of it rational ; for I had nobody to communicate it to, that would embark with me ; no fellow-slave, no Englishman, Irishman, or Scotchman, there but myself ; so that for two years, though I often pleased myself with the imagination, yet I never had the least encouraging prospect of putting it in practice.

After about two years an odd circumstance presented itself, which put the old thought of making some attempt for my liberty again in my head : my patron lying at home longer than usual, without fitting

out his ship, which, as I heard, was for want of money, he used constantly, once or twice a week, sometimes oftener, if the weather was fair, to take the ship's pinnace, and go out into the road a fishing ; and as he always took me and a young Maresco with him to row the boat, we made him very merry, and I proved very dexterous in catching fish : insomuch, that sometimes he would send me with a Moor, one of his kinsmen, and the youth, the Maresco as they called him, to catch a dish of fish for him.

It happened one time, that going a fishing in a stark calm morning, a fog rose so thick, that though we were not half a league from the shore, we lost sight of it ; and rowing we knew not whither or which way, we laboured all day, and all the next night, and when the morning came we found we had pulled off to sea instead of pulling in for the shore, and that we were at least two leagues from the shore ; however, we got well in again, though with a great deal of labour, and some danger ; for the wind began to blow pretty fresh in the morning, but particularly we were all very hungry.

But our patron, warned by this disaster, resolved to take more care of himself for the future ; and having lying by him the long boat of our English ship he had taken, he resolved he would not go a fishing any more without a compass and some provision ; so he ordered the carpenter of his ship, who also was an English slave, to build a little state-room or cabin in the middle of the long boat, like that of a barge, with a place to stand behind it to steer and hale home the main-sheet, and room before for a hand or two to stand and work the sails. She sailed with what we call a shoulder of mutton sail ; and the boom giped over the top of the cabin, which lay very snug and low, and had in it room for him to lie, with a slave or two, and a table to eat on, with some small lockers to put in some bottles of such liquor as he thought fit to drink, particularly his bread, rice and coffee.

We went frequently out with this boat a fishing, and as I was most dexterous to catch fish for him, he never went without me. It happened that he had appointed to go out in this boat, either for pleasure or for fish, with two or three Moors of some distinction in that place, and for whom he had provided extraordinarily ; and had therefore sent on board the boat over night a larger store of provisions than ordinary, and had ordered me to get ready three fuseses with powder and shot, which were on board his ship, for that they designed some sport of fowling as well as fishing.

I got all things ready as he directed, and waited the next morning with the boat washed clean, her flag and pendants out, and everything

to accommodate his guests; when by-and-by my patron came on board alone, and told me his guests had put off going, upon some business that fell out, and ordered me with the man and boy, as usual, to go out with the boat and catch them some fish, for that his friends were to sup at his house; and commanded that as soon as I got some fish I should bring it home to his house; all which I prepared to do.

This moment my former notions of deliverance darted into my thoughts, for now I found I was like to have a little ship at my command; and my master being gone, I prepared to furnish myself, not for a fishing business, but for a voyage; though I knew not, neither did I so much as consider, whither I should steer; for anywhere to get out of that place was my way.

My first contrivance was to make a pretence to speak to this Moor, to get something for our subsistence on board; for I told him we must not presume to eat of our patron's bread: he said, that was true; so he brought a large basket of rusk or biscuit of their kind, and three jars with fish water into the boat. I knew where my patron's case of bottles stood, which it was evident by the make were taken out of some English prize; and I conveyed them into the boat while the Moor was on shore, as if they had been there before for our master. I conveyed also a great lump of bees-wax into the boat, which weighed above half a hundredweight, with a parcel of twine or thread, a hatchet, a saw, and a hammer, all which were of great use to us afterwards; especially the wax to make candles. Another trick I tried upon him, which he innocently came into also; his name was Ismael, who they call Muly, or Moley; so I called to him, Moley, said I, our patron's guns are on board the boat, can you not get a little powder and shot, it may be we may kill some alcamies (a fowl like our curlews) for ourselves, for I know he keeps the gunner's stores in the ship? Yes, says he, I'll bring some; and accordingly he brought a great leather pouch which held about a pound and a half of powder, or rather more; and another with shot, that had five or six pounds, with some bullets, and put all into the boat; at the same time I had found some powder of my master's in the great cabin, with which I filled one of the large bottles in the case, which was almost empty; pouring what was in it into another: and thus furnished with everything needful, we sailed out of the port to fish. The castle which is at the entrance of the port knew who we were, and took no notice of us; and we were not above a mile out of the port before we hauled in our sail, and set us down to fish; the wind blew from the N.N.E. which was contrary to my desire; for had it blown southerly I had been sure to have made the coast of Spain, and at least

reached to the bay of Cadiz ; but my resolutions were, blow which way it would, I would be gone from that horrid place where I was, and leave the rest to fate.

After we had fished some time and caught nothing, for when I had fish on my hook I would not pull them up, that he might not see them ; I said to the Moor, this will not do, our master will not be thus served, we must stand farther off : he thinking no harm agreed, and being in the head of the boat set the sails ; and as I had the helm I run the boat out near a league farther, and then brought her to as if I would fish, when giving the boy the helm, I stept forward to where the Moor was, and making as if I stooped for something behind him, I took him by surprise with my arm under his legs, and tossed him clear overboard into the sea. He rose immediately, for he swam like a cork, and calling to me, begged to be taken in, told me he would go all over the world with me ; he swam so strong after the boat that he would have reached me very quickly, there being but little wind ; upon which I stepped into the cabin, and fetching one of the fowling pieces, I presented it at him, and told him I had done him no hurt, and if he would be quiet I would do him none : but, said I, you swim well enough to reach to the shore, and the sea is calm, make the best of your way to shore, and I will do you no harm, but if you come near the boat I'll shoot you through the head ; for I am resolved to have my liberty : so he turned himself about and swam for the shore, and I make no doubt but he reached it with ease, for he was an excellent swimmer.

I could have been content to have taken this Moor with me, and have drowned the boy, but there was no venturing to trust him. When he was gone I turned to the boy, who they called Xury, and said to him, Xury, if you will be faithful to me I'll make you a great man, but if you will not stroke your face to be true to me, that is swear by Mahomet and his father's beard, I must throw you into the sea too : the boy smiled in my face, and spoke so innocently that I could not mistrust him ; and swore to be faithful to me, and go all over the world with me.

While I was in view of the Moor that was swimming, I stood out directly to sea with the boat, rather stretching to windward, that they might think me gone towards the Straits mouth (as indeed any one that had been in their wits must have been supposed to do), for who would have supposed we were sailed on to the southward to the truly Barbarian coast, where whole nations of Negroes were sure to surround us with their canoes, and destroy us ; where we could never once go on shore but we should be devoured by savage beasts, or more merciless savages of human kind ?



CRUSOE THROWING THE MOOR OVERBOARD

But as soon as it grew dusk in the evening, I changed my course, and steered directly south and by east, bending my course a little toward the east, that I might keep in with the shore ; and having a fair fresh gale of wind, and a smooth quiet sea, I made such sail that I believe by the next day at three o'clock in the afternoon, when I first made the land, I could not be less than 150 miles south of Sallee ; quite beyond the emperor of Morocco's dominions, or indeed of any other king thereabouts, for we saw no people.

Yet such was the fright I had taken at the Moors, and the dreadful apprehensions I had of falling into their hands, that I would not stop, or go on shore, or come to an anchor. The wind continuing fair till I had sailed in that manner five days, and the wind shifting to the southward, I concluded also that if any of our vessels were in chase of me, they also would now give over ; so I ventured to make the coast, and came to an anchor in the mouth of a little river, I knew not what, or where ; neither what latitude, what country, what nation, or what river : I neither saw, or desired to see any people, the principal thing I wanted was fresh water. We came into this creek in the evening, resolving to swim on shore as soon as it was dark, and discover the country ; but as soon as it was quite dark, we heard such dreadful noises of the barking, roaring, and howling of wild creatures of we knew not what kinds, that the poor boy was ready to die with fear, and begged of me not to go on shore till day. Well, Xury, said I, then I won't, but it may be we may see men by day, who will be as bad to us as those lions. Then we give them the shoot gun, says Xury, laughing ; make them run way. Such English Xury spoke by conversing among us slaves. However I was glad to see the boy so cheerful, and I gave him a dram (out of our patron's case of bottles) to cheer him up : after all Xury's advice was good, and I took it ; we dropped our little anchor and lay still all night ; I say still, for we slept none ; for in two or three hours we saw vast great creatures (we knew not what to call them) of many sorts, come down to the sea-shore and run into the water, wallowing and washing themselves for the pleasure of cooling themselves ; and they made such hideous howlings and yellings that I never indeed heard the like.

Xury was dreadfully frightened, and indeed so was I too ; but we were both more frightened when we heard one of these mighty creatures come swimming towards our boat : we could not see him, but we might hear him by his blowing to be a monstrous huge and furious beast. Xury said it was a lion, and it might be so for aught I know ; but poor Xury cried to me to weigh the anchor and row away. No, says I,

Xury, we can slip our cable with a buoy to it and go off to sea, they cannot follow us far. I had no sooner said so, but I perceived the creature (whatever it was) within two oars' length, which something surprised me; however I immediately stepped to the cabin-door, and taking up my gun fired at him, upon which he immediately turned about and swam towards the shore again.

But it is impossible to describe the horrible noises, and hideous cries and howlings, that were raised, as well upon the edge of the shore, as higher within the country, upon the noise or report of the gun; a thing I have some reason to believe those creatures had never heard before: this convinced me that there was no going on shore for us in the night upon that coast, and how to venture on shore in the day was another question too; for to have fallen into the hands of any of the savages, had been as bad as to have fallen into the hands of lions and tigers; at least we were equally apprehensive of the danger of it.

Be that as it would, we were obliged to go on shore somewhere or other for water, for we had not a pint left in the boat; when or where to get it was the point. Xury said, if I would let him go on shore with one of the jars, he would find if there was any water, and bring some to me. I asked him why he would go? why I should not go, and he stay in the boat? The boy answered with so much affection that made me love him ever after. Says he, If wild mans come, they eat me, you go way. Well, Xury, said I, we will both go, and if the wild mans come, we will kill them, they shall eat neither of us; so I gave Xury a piece of rusk-bread to eat, and a dram out of our patron's case of bottles which I mentioned before; and we hauled the boat in as near the shore as we thought was proper, and waded on shore; carrying nothing but our guns, and two jars for water.

I did not care to go out of sight of the boat, fearing the coming of canoes with savages down the river: but the boy seeing a low place about a mile up the country rambled to it; and by and by I saw him come running towards me. I thought he was pursued by some savage, or frightened with some wild beast, and I ran forward towards him to help him, but when I came nearer to him, I saw something hanging over his shoulders, which was a creature that he had shot, like a hare, but different in colour, and longer legs; however we were very glad of it, and it was very good meat; but the great joy that poor Xury came with, was to tell me he had found good water, and seen no wild mans.

But we found afterwards that we need not take such pains for water; for a little higher up the creek where we were, we found the

water fresh when the tide was out, which flowed but a little way up ; so we filled our jars and feasted on the hare we had killed, and prepared to go on our way, having seen no foot-steps of any human creature in that part of the country.



As I had been one voyage to this coast before, I knew very well that the islands of the Canaries, and the Cape de Verd islands also, lay not far off from the coast. But as I had no instruments to take an observation to know what latitude we were in, and did not exactly know, or at least remember, what latitude they were in, I knew not where to look for them, or when to stand off to sea towards them ; otherwise I might now easily have found some of these islands. But my hope was, that if I stood along this coast till I came to that part where the English traded, I should find some of their vessels upon their usual design of trade, that would relieve and take us in.

By the best of my calculation, that place where I now was, must be that country, which lying between the emperor of Morocco's dominions and the Negroes, lies waste, and uninhabited, except by wild beasts, the Negroes having abandoned it, and gone farther south for fear of the Moors ; and the Moors not thinking it worth inhabiting, by reason of its barrenness ; and indeed both forsaking it because of the prodigious number of tigers, lions, leopards, and other furious creatures which harbour there ; so that the Moors use it for their hunting only, where they go like an army, two or three thousand men at a time ; and indeed for near an hundred miles together upon this

coast, we saw nothing but a waste uninhabited country by day ; and heard nothing but howlings and roaring of wild beasts by night.

Once or twice in the day-time I thought I saw the Peak of Teneriffe, being the high top of the mountain Teneriffe in the Canaries ; and had a great mind to venture out in hopes of reaching thither ; but having tried twice, I was forced in again by contrary winds, the sea also going too high for my little vessel, so I resolved to pursue my first design and keep along the shore.

Several times I was obliged to land for fresh water after we had left this place ; and once in particular, being early in the morning, we came to an anchor under a little point of land which was pretty high, and the tide beginning to flow, we lay still to go farther in.



Xury, whose eyes were more about him than it seems mine were, calls softly to me, and tells me that we had best go farther off the shore ; for, says he, look yonder lies a dreadful monster on the side of that hillock fast asleep. I looked where he pointed, and saw a dreadful monster indeed, for it was a terrible great lion that lay on the side of the shore, under the shade of a piece of the hill that hung as it were a little over him. Xury, says I, you shall go on shore and kill him : Xury looked frightened, and said, Me kill ! he eat me at one mouth ; one mouthful he meant. However, I said no more to the boy, but bade him lie still ; and took our biggest gun, which was almost musquet-bore, and loaded it with a good charge of powder, and with two slugs, and laid it down ; then I loaded another gun with two

bullets ; and the third, for we had three pieces, I loaded with five smaller bullets. I took the best aim I could with the first piece, to have shot him into the head, but he lay so with his leg raised a little above his nose, that the slugs hit his leg about the knee, and broke the bone. He started up growling at first, but finding his leg broke, fell down again, and then got up upon three legs, and gave the most hideous roar that ever I heard. I was a little surprised that I had not hit him on the head ; however, I took up the second piece immediately, and though he began to move off, fired again, and shot him into the head, and had the pleasure to see him drop, and make but little noise, but lay struggling for life. Then Xury took heart, and would have me let him go on shore. Well, go said I. So the boy jumped into the water, and taking a little gun in one hand, swam to the shore with the other hand, and coming close to the creature, put the muzzle of the piece to his ear, and shot him into the head again, which dispatched him quite.

This was game indeed to us, but this was no food : and I was very sorry to lose three charges of powder and shot upon a creature that was good for nothing to us. However, Xury said he would have some of him ; so he comes on board, and asked me to give him the hatchet. For what, Xury ? said I. Me cut off his head, said he. However, Xury could not cut off his head, but he cut off a foot, and brought it with him, and it was a monstrous great one.

I bethought myself, however, that perhaps the skin of him might one way or other be of some value to us ; and I resolved to take off his skin, if I could. So Xury and I went to work with him ; but Xury was much the better workman at it, for I knew very ill how to do it. Indeed it took us up both the whole day ; but at last we got the hide off him, and spreading it on the top of our cabin, the sun effectually dried it in two days' time, and it afterwards served me to lie upon.

After this stop, we made on to the southward continually for ten or twelve days, living very sparing on our provisions, which began to abate very much, and going no oftener into the shore than we were obliged to for fresh water : my design in this was, to make the river Gambia or Senegal, that is to say anywhere about the Cape de Verd, where I was in hopes to meet with some European ship ; and if I did not, I knew not what course I had to take, but to seek for the Islands, or perish there among the Negroes. I knew that all the ships from Europe, which sailed either to the coast of Guinea or to Brasil, or to the East Indies, made this Cape, or those Islands ; and, in a word, I

put the whole of my fortune upon this single point, either that I must meet with some ship or must perish.

When I had pursued this resolution about ten days longer, as I have said, I began to see that the land was inhabited ; and in two or three places, as we sailed by, we saw people stand upon the shore to look at us ; we could also perceive they were quite black, and stark naked. I was once inclined to have gone on shore to them ; but Xury was my better counsellor, and said to me, No go, no go : however I hauled in nearer the shore that I might talk to them, and I found they ran along the shore by me a good way. I observed they had no weapons in their hands except one, who had a long slender stick, which Xury said was a lance, and that they would throw them a great way with good aim. So I kept at a distance, but talked with them by signs as well as I could ; and particularly made signs for something to eat : they beckoned to me to stop my boat, and they would fetch me some meat ; upon this I lowered the top of my sail, and lay by, and two of them ran up into the country, and in less than half an hour came back, and brought with them two pieces of dry flesh and some corn, as is the produce of their country ; but we neither knew what the one nor the other was : however, we were willing to accept it, but how to come at it was our next dispute, for I was not for venturing on shore to them, and they were as much afraid of us ; but they took a safe way for us all, for they brought it to the shore and laid it down, and went and stood a great way off till we fetched it on board, and then came close to us again.

We made signs of thanks to them, for we had nothing to make them amends ; but an opportunity offered that very instant to oblige them wonderfully ; for while we were lying by the shore, came two mighty creatures, one pursuing the other (as we took it) with great fury, from the mountains towards the sea : whether it was the male pursuing the female, or whether they were in sport or in rage, we could not tell, any more than we could tell whether it was usual or strange, but I believe it was the latter ; because, in the first place, those ravenous creatures seldom appear but in the night ; and in the second place, we found the people terribly frightened, especially the women. The man that had the lance or dart did not fly from them, but the rest did ; however, as the two creatures ran directly into the water, they did not seem to offer to fall upon any of the Negroes, but plunged themselves into the sea, and swam about as if they had come for their diversion. At last one of them began to come nearer our boat than at first I expected, but I lay ready for him, for I had loaded

my gun with all possible expedition, and bade Xury load both the others. As soon as he came fairly within my reach, I fired, and shot him directly into the head. Immediately he sunk down into the water but rose instantly, and plunged up and down as if he was struggling for life ; and so indeed he was : he immediately made to the shore, but between the wound, which was his mortal hurt, and the strangling of the water, he died just before he reached the shore.

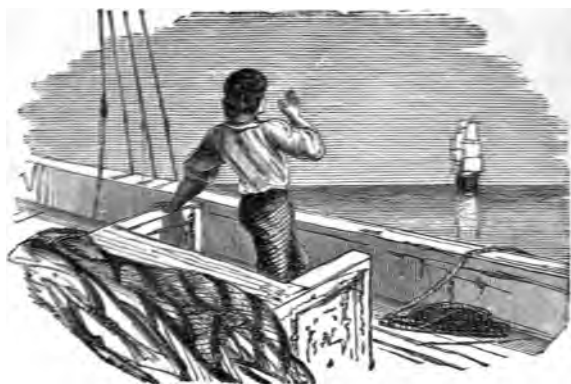
It is imposible to express the astonishment of these poor creatures at the noise and the fire of my gun ; some of them were even ready to die for fear, and fell down as dead with the very terror. But when they saw the creature dead, and sunk in the water, and that I made signs to them to come to the shore, they took heart and came to the shore, and began to search for the creature. I found him by his blood staining the water ; and by the help of a rope, which I slung round him, and gave the Negroes to haul, they dragged him on shore, and found that it was a most curious leopard, spotted and fine to an admirable degree, and the Negroes held up their hands with admiration to think what it was I had killed him with.

The other creature, frighted with the flash of fire and the noise of the gun, swam on shore, and ran up directly to the mountains from whence they came, nor could I at that distance know what it was. I found quickly the Negroes were for eating the flesh of this creature, so I was willing to have them take it as a favour from me, which when I made signs to them that they might take him, they were very thankful for. Immediately they fell to work with him, and though they had no knife, yet with a sharpened piece of wood they took off his skin as readily, and much more readily, than we could have done with a knife : they offered me some of the flesh, which I declined, making as if I would give it them, but made signs for the skin, which they gave me very freely, and brought me a great deal more of their provision, which though I did not understand, yet I accepted ; then I made signs to them for some water, and held out one of my jars to them, turning it bottom upward, to shew that it was empty, and that I wanted to have it filled. They called immediately to some of their friends, and there came two women, and brought a great vessel made of earth, and burnt, as I suppose, in the sun ; this they set down for me, as before, and I sent Xury on shore with my jars, and filled them all three.

I was now furnished with roots and corn, such as it was, and water ; and, leaving my friendly Negroes, I made forward for about eleven days more, without offering to go near the shore, till I saw the land

run out a great length into the sea, at about the distance of four or five leagues before me ; and, the sea being very calm, I kept a large offing to make this point : at length, doubling the point at about two leagues from the land, I saw plainly land on the other side to sea-ward ; then I concluded, as it was most certain-indeed, that this was the Cape de Verd, and those the islands, called from thence Cape de Verd Islands. However, they were at a great distance, and I could not tell what I had best do, for if I should be taken with a fresh of wind I might neither reach one nor the other.

In this dilemma, as I was very pensive, I stept into the cabin and set me down, Xury having the helm, when on a sudden the boy cried out, Master, master, a ship with a sail ! and the foolish boy was



frighted out of his wits, thinking it must needs be some of his master's ships sent to pursue us, when I knew we were gotten far enough out of their reach. I jumped out of the cabin, and immediately saw not only the ship, but that it was a Portuguese ship, and, as I thought, was bound to the coast of Guinea for Negroes. But when I observed the course she steered, I was soon convinced they were bound some other way, and did not design to come any nearer to the shore ; upon which I stretched out to sea as much as I could, resolving to speak with them if possible.

With all the sail I could make, I found I should not be able to come in their way, but they would be gone by before I could make any signal to them. But after I had crowded to the utmost, and began to

despair, they, it seems, saw me by the help of their perspective-glasses, and that it was some European boat, which, as they supposed, must belong to some ship that was lost ; so they shortened sail to let me come up. I was encouraged with this, and as I had my patron's flag on board, I made a waft of it to them for a signal of distress, and fired a gun, both which they saw ; for they told me they saw the smoke, though they did not hear the gun. Upon these signals they very kindly brought-to, and lay-by for me, and in about three hours time I came up with them.

They asked me what I was, in Portuguese, and in Spanish, and in French ; but I understood none of them ; but at last a Scottish sailor, who was on board, called to me, and I answered him, and told him I was an Englishman, that I had made my escape out of slavery from the Moors at Sallee. Then they bade me come on board, and very kindly took me in, and all my goods.

It was inexpressible joy to me, that any one would believe, that I was thus delivered, as I esteemed it, from such a miserable and almost hopeless condition as I was in, and immediately offered all I had to the captain of the ship, as a return for my deliverance ; but he generously told me, he would take nothing from me, but that all I had should be delivered safe to me when I came to the Brasils ; for, says he, I have saved your life on no other terms than I would be glad to be saved myself ; and it may one time or other be my lot to be taken up in the same condition : Besides, says he, when I carry you to the Brasils, so great a way from your own country, if I should take away from you what you have, you will be starved there, and then I only take away that life I have given. No, no, Seigneur, Mr. Englishman, I will carry you thither in charity, and those things will help you to buy your subsistence there, and your passage home again.

As he was charitable in his proposal, so he was just in the performance to a tittle, for he ordered the seamen, that none should offer to touch anything I had ; then he took everything into his own possession, and gave me back an exact inventory of them, that I might have them ; even so much as my three earthen jars.

As to my boat, it was a very good one, and that he saw, and told me he would buy it of me for the ship's use, and asked me what I would have for it ? I told him, he had been so generous to me in everything, that I could not offer to make any price of the boat, but left it entirely to him ; upon which he told me he would give me a note of his hand to pay me 80 pieces of eight for it at Brasil ; and when it came there, if any one offered to give more, he would make it up ; he

offered me also 60 pieces of eight more for my boy Xury, which I was loth to take ; not that I was not willing to let the captain have him, but I was very loth to sell the poor boy's liberty, who had assisted me so faithfully in procuring my own. However, when I let him know my reason, he owned it to be just, and offered me this medium, that he would give the boy an obligation to set him free in ten years, if he turned Christian. Upon this, and Xury saying he was willing to go to him, I let the captain have him.

We had a very good voyage to the Brasils, and arrived in All-Saints-Bay, in about twenty-two days after. And now I was once more delivered from the most miserable of all conditions of life, and what to do next with myself I was now to consider.

The generous treatment the captain gave me, I can never enough remember ; he would take nothing of me for my passage, gave me twenty ducats for the leopard's skin, and forty for the lion's skin, which I had in my boat, and caused everything I had in the ship to be punctually delivered me ; and what I was willing to sell he bought, such as the case of bottles, two of my guns, and a piece of the lump of bees-wax, for I had made candles of the rest ; in a word, I made about 220 pieces of eight of all my cargo, and with this stock I went on shore in the Brasils.

I had not been long here, but being recommended to the house of a good honest man like himself, who had an Ingenio as they call it, that is, a plantation and a sugar house ; I lived with him some time, and acquainted myself by that means with the manner of their planting and making of sugar ; and seeing how well the planters lived, and how they grew rich suddenly, I resolved, if I could get license to settle there, I would turn planter among them, resolving in the meantime to find out some way to get my money, which I had left in London, remitted to me. To this purpose, getting a kind of a letter of naturalization, I purchased as much land that was uncured as my money would reach, and formed a plan for my plantation and settlement, and such a one as might be suitable to the stock which I proposed to myself to receive from England.

I had a neighbour, a Portuguese of Lisbon, but born of English parents, whose name was Wells, and in much such circumstances as I was. I call him neighbour, because his plantation lay next to mine, and we went on very sociably together. My stock was but low, as well as his ; and we rather planted for food, than anything else, for about two years. However, we began to increase, and our land began to come into order ; so that the third year we planted some tobacco, and made

each of us a large piece of ground ready for planting canes in the year to come; but we both wanted help; and now I found, more than before, I had done wrong in parting with my boy Xury.

But alas! for me to do wrong, that never did right, was no great wonder: I had no remedy but to go on; I was gotten into an employment quite remote to my genius, and directly contrary to the life I delighted in, and for which I forsook my father's house, and broke through all his good advice; nay, I was coming into the very middle station, or upper degree of low life, which my father advised me to before; and which if I resolved to go on with, I might as well have staid at home, and never have fatigued myself in the world as I had done: and I used often to say to myself, I could have done this as well in England among my friends, as have gone five thousand miles off to do it, among strangers and savages in a wilderness, and at such distance as never to hear from any part of the world that had the least knowledge of me.

In this manner I used to look upon my condition with the utmost regret. I had nobody to converse with, but now and then this neighbour: no work to be done, but by the labour of my hands; and I used to say, I lived just like a man cast away upon some desolate island, that had nobody there but himself. But how just has it been, and how should all men reflect, that, when they compare their present conditions with others that are worse, Heaven may oblige them to make the exchange, and be convinced of their former felicity, by their experience; I say how just has it been, that the truly solitary life I reflected on in an island of mere desolation should be my lot, who had so often unjustly compared it with the life which I then led, in which, had I continued, I had in all probability been exceeding prosperous and rich.

I was in some degree settled in my measures for carrying on the plantation, before my kind friend the captain of the ship that took me up at sea, went back; for the ship remained there, providing his loading, and preparing for his voyage, near three months; when, telling him what little stock I had left behind me in London, he gave me this friendly and sincere advice: Signor Inglese, says he (for so he always called me), if you will give me letters, and a procuration here in form to me, with orders to the person who has your money in London, to send your effects to Lisbon, to such persons as I shall direct, and in such goods as are proper for this country, I will bring you the produce of them, God willing, at my return; but since human affairs are all subject to changes and disasters, I would have you give orders but for one hundred pounds sterling, which you say is half your stock, and let

the hazard be run for the first ; so that if it come safe, you may order the rest the same way ; and if it miscarry, you may have the other half to have recourse to it for your supply.

This was so wholesome advice, and looked so friendly, that I could not but be convinced it was the best course I could take ; so I accordingly prepared letters to the gentlewoman with whom I had left my money, and a procuration to the Portuguese captain, as he desired.

I wrote the English captain's widow a full account of all my adventures, my slavery, escape, and how I had met with the Portugal captain at sea, the humanity of his behaviour, and what condition I was now in, with all other necessary directions for my supply ; and when this honest captain came to Lisbon, he found means, by some of the English merchants there, to send over, not the order only, but a full account of my story, to a merchant at London, who represented it effectually to her ; whereupon, she not only delivered the money, but out of her own pocket sent the Portugal captain a very handsome present for his humanity and charity to me.

The merchant in London vesting this hundred pounds in English goods, such as the captain had written for, sent them directly to him at Lisbon, and he brought them all safe to me to the Brasils ; among which, without my directions (for I was too young in my business to think of them), he had taken care to have all sorts of tools, iron-work, and utensils necessary for my plantation, and which were of great use to me.

When this cargo arrived I thought my fortune made, for I was surprised with joy of it ; and my good steward the captain had laid out the five pounds which my friend had sent him for a present for himself, to purchase, and bring me over a servant under bond for six years service, and would not accept of any consideration, except a little tobacco, which I would have him accept, being of my own produce.

Neither was this all ; but my goods being all English manufactures, such as cloth, stuffs, baize, and things particularly valuable and desirable in the country, I found means to sell them to a very great advantage, so that I may say I had more than four times the value of my first cargo, and was now infinitely beyond my poor neighbour, I mean in the advancement of my plantation ; for the first thing I did, I bought me a Negro slave, and an European servant also ; I mean another besides that which the captain brought me from Lisbon.

But as abused prosperity is oftentimes made the very means of our greatest adversity, so it was with me. I went on the next year with great success in my plantation ; I raised fifty great rolls of tobacco on

my own ground, more than I had disposed of for necessaries among my neighbours ; and these fifty rolls, being each of above an hundred-weight, were well cured and laid by against the return of the fleet from Lisbon. And now, increasing in business and in wealth, my head began to be full of projects and undertakings beyond my reach ; such as are indeed often the ruin of the best heads in business.

Had I continued in the station I was now in, I had room for all the happy things to have yet befallen me, for which my father so earnestly recommended a quiet retired life, and of which he had so sensibly described the middle station of life to be full ; but other things attended me, and I was still to be the wilful agent of all my own miseries ; and particularly to increase my fault, and double the reflections upon myself, which in my future sorrows I should have leisure to make. All these miscarriages were procured by my apparent obstinate adhering to my foolish inclination of wandering abroad, and pursuing that inclination in contradiction to the clearest views of doing myself good in a fair and plain pursuit of those prospects and those measures of life, which nature and Providence concurred to present me with, and to make my duty.

As I had done thus in breaking away from my parents, so I could not be content now, but I must go and leave the happy view I had of being a rich and thriving man in my new plantation, only to pursue a rash and immoderate desire of rising faster than the nature of the thing admitted ; and thus I cast myself down again into the deepest gulph of human misery that ever man fell into, or perhaps could be consistent with life and a state of health in the world.

To come then by the just degrees to the particulars of this part of my story ; you may suppose, that having now lived almost four years in the Brasils, and beginning to thrive and prosper very well upon my plantation, I had not only learned the language, but had contracted acquaintance and friendship among my fellow planters, as well as among the merchants at St. Salvadore, which was our port ; and that



in my discourses among them I had frequently given them an account of my two voyages to the coast of Guinea, the manner of trading with the Negroes there, and how easy it was to purchase upon the coast, for trifles, such as beads, toys, knives, scissors, hatchets, bits of glass, and the like, not only gold dust, Guinea grains, elephants' teeth, &c., but Negroes for the service of the Brasils, in great numbers.

They listened always very attentively to my discourses on these heads, but especially to that part which related to the buying Negroes, which was a trade at that time not only not far entered into, but as far as it was, had been carried on by the Assientos, or permission of the kings of Spain and Portugal, and engrossed in the public, so that few Negroes were bought, and those excessively dear.

It happened, being in company with some merchants and planters of my acquaintance, and talking of those things very earnestly, three of them came to me the next morning, and told me they had been musing very much upon what I had discoursed with them of the last night, and they came to make a secret proposal to me; and after enjoining me secrecy, they told me that they had a mind to fit out a ship to go to Guinea; that they had all plantations as well as I, and were straitened for nothing so much as servants; that as this was a trade that could not be carried on, because they could not publicly sell the Negroes when they came home; so they desired to make but one voyage, to bring the Negroes on shore privately, and divide them among their own plantations; and in a word, the question was, whether I would go as their supercargo in the ship, to manage the trading part upon the coast of Guinea; and they offered me that I should have my equal share of the Negroes, without providing any part of the stock.

This was a fair proposal, it must be confessed, had it been made to any one that had not had a settlement and plantation of his own to look after, which was in a fair way of becoming very considerable, and with a good stock upon it. But for me, that was thus entered and established, and had nothing to do but go on as I had begun, for three or four years more, and to have sent for the other hundred pounds from England, and who in that time, and with that little addition, could scarce have failed of being worth three or four thousand pounds sterling, and that increasing too; for me to think of such a voyage, was the most preposterous thing that ever man in such circumstances could be guilty of.

But I, that was born to be my own destroyer, could no more resist the offer, than I could restrain my first rambling designs, when my

father's good counsel was lost upon me. In a word, I told them I would go with all my heart, if they would undertake to look after my plantation in my absence, and would dispose of it to such as I should direct if I miscarried. This they all engaged to do, and entered into writings or covenants to do so ; and I made a formal will, disposing of my plantation and effects, in case of my death, making the captain of the ship that had saved my life, as before, my universal heir ; but obliging him to dispose of my effects as I had directed in my will, one half of the produce being to himself, and the other to be shipped to England.

In short, I took all possible caution to preserve my effects, and keep up my plantation. Had I used half as much prudence to have looked into my own interest, and have made a judgment of what I ought to have done and not to have done, I had certainly never gone away from so prosperous an undertaking, leaving all the probable views of a thriving circumstance, and gone upon a voyage to sea, attended with all its common hazards ; to say nothing of the reasons I had to expect particular misfortunes to myself.

But I was hurried on, and obeyed blindly the dictates of my fancy rather than my reason ; and accordingly, the ship being fitted out, and the cargo furnished, and all things done as by agreement by my partners in the voyage, I went on board in an evil hour, the 1st of September—being the same day eight years that I went from my father and mother at Hull, in order to act the rebel to their authority, and the fool to my own interest.

Our ship was about 120 tons burthen, carried 6 guns, and 14 men, besides the master, his boy, and myself. We had on board no large cargo of goods, except of such toys as were fit for our trade with the Negroes, such as beads, bits of glass, shells, and odd trifles, especially little looking-glasses, knives, scissors, hatchets, and the like.

The same day I went on board we set sail, standing away to the northward upon our own coast, with design to stretch over for the African coast when they came about ten or twelve degrees of northern latitude, which it seems was the manner of their course in those days. We had very good weather, only excessive hot, all the way upon our own coast till we came the height of Cape St. Augustino ; from whence, keeping farther off at sea, we lost sight of land, and steered as if we were bound for the isle Fernand de Noronha, holding our course N. E. by N. and leaving those isles on the east. In this course we passed the line in about twelve days' time, and were by our last observation in seven degrees twenty-two minutes northern latitude, when a violent tornado

or hurricane took us quite out of our knowledge. It began from the south-east, came about to the north-west, and then settled into the north-east, from whence it blew in such a terrible manner, that for twelve days together we could do nothing but drive, and scudding away before it, let it carry us whither ever fate and the fury of the winds directed; and during these twelve days I need not say that I expected every day to be swallowed up, nor indeed did any in the ship expect to save their lives.

In this distress, we had, besides the terror of the storm, one of our men died of fever, and one man and the boy washed overboard. About the twelfth day, the weather abating a little, the master made an observation as well as he could, and found he was in about eleven degrees north latitude, but that he was twenty-two degrees of longitude difference west from Cape St. Augustino; so that he found he was gotten upon the coast of Guinea, or the north part of Brasil, beyond the river Amazonas, toward that of the river Oronoque, commonly called the Great River, and began to consult with me what course he should take, for the ship was leaky and very much disabled, and he was going directly back to the coast of Brasil.

I was positively against that; and looking over the charts of the sea-coast of America with him, we concluded there was no inhabited



country for us to have recourse to, till we came within the circle of the Caribbee Islands, and therefore resolved to stand away for Barbadoes, which, by keeping off at sea, to avoid the indraught of the bay or gulf of Mexico, we might easily perform, as we hoped, in about fifteen days'

sail ; whereas, we could not possibly make our voyage to the coast of Africa without some assistance, both to our ship and to ourselves.

With this design we changed our course, and steered away N. W. by W. in order to reach some of our English islands, where I hoped for relief ; but our voyage was otherwise determined ; for being in the latitude of twelve degrees eighteen minutes, a second storm came upon us, which carried us away with the same impetuosity westward, and drove us so out of the very way of all human commerce, that had all our lives been saved, as to the sea, we were rather in danger of being devoured by savages than ever returning to our own country.

In this distress, the wind still blowing very hard, one of our men early in the morning cried out, Land ! and we had no sooner run out of the cabin to look out, in hopes of seeing whereabouts in the world we were, but the ship struck upon a sand, and in a moment, her motion being so stopped, the sea broke over her in such a manner, that we expected we should all have perished immediately ; and we were immediately driven into our close quarters, to shelter us from the very foam and spray of the sea.

It is not easy for any one, who has not been in the like condition, to describe or conceive the consternation of men in such circumstances. We knew nothing where we were, or upon what land it was we were driven, whether an island or the main, whether inhabited or not inhabited ; and as the rage of the wind was still great, though rather less than at first, we could not so much as hope to have the ship hold many minutes without breaking in pieces, unless the winds, by a kind of miracle, should turn immediately about. In a word, we sat looking one upon another, and expecting death every moment, and every man acting accordingly as preparing for another world, for there was little or nothing more for us to do in this. That which was our present comfort, and all the comfort we had, was, that contrary to our expectation the ship did not break yet, and that the master said the wind began to abate.

Now, though we found that the wind did a little abate, yet the ship having thus struck upon the sand, and sticking too fast for us to expect her getting off, we were in a dreadful condition indeed, and had nothing to do but to think of saving our lives as well as we could. We had a boat at our stern just before the storm, but she was first staved by dashing against the ship's rudder, and in the next place she broke away, and either sunk or was driven off to sea, so there was no hope from her. We had another boat on board, but how to get her off into the sea was a doubtful thing ; however, there was no room to debate, for we

fancied the ship would break in pieces every minute, and some told us she was actually broken already.

In this distress, the mate of our vessel lays hold of the boat, and with the help of the rest of the men, they got her slung over the ship's side, and getting all into her, let go, and committed ourselves, being eleven in number, to God's mercy and the wild sea ; for though the storm was abated considerably, yet the sea went dreadful high upon the shore, and might well be called *den wild zee*, as the Dutch call the sea in a storm.

And now our case was very dismal indeed ; for we all saw plainly that the sea went so high, that the boat could not live, and that we should be inevitably drowned. As to making sail, we had none, nor, if we had, could we have done anything with it, so we worked at the oar towards the land, though with heavy hearts, like men going to execution ; for we all knew, that when the boat came nearer the shore, she would be dashed in a thousand pieces by the breach of the sea. However, we committed our souls to God in the most earnest manner, and the wind driving us towards the shore, we hastened our destruction with our own hands, pulling as well as we could towards land.

What the shore was, whether rock or sand, whether steep or shoal, we knew not ; the only hope that could rationally give us the least shadow of expectation was, if we might happen into some bay or gulf, or the mouth of some river, where by great chance we might have run our boat in, or got under the lee of the land, and perhaps made smooth water. But there was nothing of this appeared ; but as we made nearer and nearer the shore, the land looked more frightful than the sea.

After we had rowed, or rather driven, about a league and a half, as we reckoned it, a raging wave, mountain-like, came rolling a-stern of us, and plainly bade us expect the *coup-de-grace*. In a word, it took us with such a fury, that it overset the boat at once ; and separating us, as well from the boat as from one another, gave us not time hardly to say, O God ! for we were all swallowed up in a moment.

Nothing can describe the confusion of thought which I felt when I sunk into the water ; for though I swam very well, yet I could not deliver myself from the waves so as to draw breath, till that wave having driven me, or rather carried me, a vast way on towards the shore, and having spent itself, went back, and left me upon the land almost dry, but half dead with the water I took in. I had so much presence of mind, as well as breath left, that seeing myself nearer the main land than I expected, I got upon my feet, and endeavoured to make on towards the land as fast I could, before another wave should return and take me up again. But I soon found it was impossible to avoid

it ; for I saw the sea come after me as high as a great hill, and as furious as an enemy which I had no means or strength to contend with. My business was to hold my breath, and raise myself upon the water, if I could ; and so by swimming to preserve my breathing, and pilot myself towards the shore, if possible. My greatest concern now being that the sea, as it would carry me a great way towards the shore when it came on, might not carry me back again with it when it gave back towards the sea.

The wave that came upon me again buried me at once 20 or 30 feet deep in its own body, and I could feel myself carried with a mighty force and swiftness towards the shore, a very great way ; but I held my breath, and assisted myself to swim still forward with all my might. I was ready to burst with holding my breath, when, as I felt myself rising up, so, to my immediate relief, I found my head and hands shoot out above the surface of the water ; and though it was not two seconds of time that I could keep myself so, yet it relieved me greatly, gave me breath and new courage. I was covered again with water a good while, but not so long but I held it out ; and finding the water had spent itself, and began to return, I struck forward against the return of the waves, and felt ground again with my feet. I stood still a few moments to recover breath, and till the water went from me, and then took to my heels and ran with what strength I had farther towards the shore. But neither would this deliver me from the fury of the sea, which came pouring in after me again, and twice more I was lifted up by the waves and carried forwards as before, the shore being very flat.

The last time of these two had well near been fatal to me ; for the sea having hurried me along as before, landed me, or rather dashed me, against a piece of a rock, and that with such force, as it left me senseless, and indeed helpless, as to my own deliverance ; for the blow taking my side and breast, beat the breath as it were quite out of my body ; and had it not returned again immediately, I must have been strangled in the water ; but I recovered a little before the return of the waves, and seeing I should be covered again with the water, I resolved to hold fast by a piece of the rock, and so hold my breath, if possible, till the wave went back. Now as the waves were not so high as at first, being near land, I held my hold till the wave abated, and then fetched another run, which brought me so near the shore that the next wave, though it went over me, yet did not so swallow me up as to carry me away ; and the next run I took I got to the main land, where, to my great comfort, I clambered up the clefts of the shore,

and sat me down upon the grass, free from danger, and quite out of the reach of the water.

I was now landed and safe on shore, and began to look up and thank God that my life was saved in a case wherein there was some minutes before scarce any room to hope. I believe it is impossible to express to the life what the ecstasies and transports of the soul are, when it is so saved, as I may say, out of the very grave. I walked about on the shore, lifting up my hands, and my whole being, as I may say, wrapt up in the contemplation of my deliverance, making a thousand gestures and motions which I cannot describe, reflecting upon all my comrades that were drowned, and that there should not be one soul saved but myself; for, as for them, I never saw them afterwards, or any sign of them, except three of their hats, one cap, and two shoes that were not fellows.

I cast my eyes to the stranded vessel, when the breach and froth of the sea being so big, I could hardly see it, it lay so far off, and considered, Lord! how was it possible I could get on shore!

After I had solaced my mind with the comfortable part of my condition, I began to look around me, to see what kind of place I was in, and what was next to be done; and I soon found my comforts abate, and that, in a word, I had a dreadful deliverance. For I was wet, had no clothes to shift me, nor anything either to eat or drink to comfort me; neither did I see any prospect before me, but that of perishing with hunger, or being devoured by wild beasts; and that which was particularly afflicting to me, was, that I had no weapon either to hunt and kill any creature for my sustenance, or to defend myself against any other creature that might desire to kill me for theirs. In a word, I had nothing about me but a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a little tobacco in a box; this was all my provision, and this threw me into terrible agonies of mind, that for a while I ran about like a madman. Night coming upon me, I began with a heavy heart to consider what would be my lot if there were any ravenous beasts in that country, seeing at night they always come abroad for their prey.

All the remedy that offered to my thoughts at that time was, to get up into a thick bushy tree like a fir, but thorny, which grew near me, and where I resolved to sit all night, and consider the next day what death I should die, for as yet I saw no prospect of life. I walked about a furlong from the shore, to see if I could find any fresh water to drink, which I did, to my great joy; and having drank, and put a little tobacco in my mouth to prevent hunger, I went to the tree, and getting up into it, endeavoured to place myself so as that if I



CRUSOE SAVED ON THE ISLAND

should sleep I might not fall ; and having cut me a short stick, like a truncheon, for my defence, I took up my lodging, and having been excessively fatigued I fell fast asleep, and slept as comfortably as, I



believe, few could have done in my condition, and found myself the most refreshed with it that I think I ever was on such an occasion.

When I waked it was broad day, the weather clear, and the storm abated, so that the sea did not rage and swell as before ; but that which surprised me most was, that the ship was lifted off in the night from the sand where she lay by the swelling of the tide, and was driven up almost as far as the rock which I first mentioned, where I had been so bruised by the dashing me against it. This being within about a mile from the shore where I was, and the ship seeming to stand upright still, I wished myself on board, that, at least, I might save some necessary things for my use.

When I came down from my apartment in the tree, I looked about me again, and the first thing I found was the boat, which lay as the wind and the sea had tossed her, up upon the land, about two miles on my right hand. I walked as far as I could upon the shore to have got to her, but found a neck or inlet of water between me and the boat, which was about half a mile broad ; so I came back for the present, being more intent upon getting at the ship, where I hoped to find something for my present subsistence.

A little after noon I found the sea very calm, and the tide ebbed so far out that I could come within a quarter of a mile of the ship, and

here I found a fresh renewing of my grief ; for I saw evidently, that if we had kept on board, we had been all safe, that is to say, we had all got safe on shore, and I had not been so miserable as to be left entirely destitute of all comfort and company, as I now was. This forced tears from my eyes again, but as there was little relief in that, I resolved, if possible, to get to the ship, so I pulled off my clothes, for the weather was hot to extremity, and took the water ; but when I came to the ship, my difficulty was still greater to know how to get on board, for as she lay a-ground, and high out of the water, there was nothing within my reach to lay hold of. I swam round her twice, and the second time I spied a small piece of rope, which I wondered I did not see at first, hang down by the fore-chains so low as that with great



difficulty I got hold of it, and by the help of that rope got up into the forecastle of the ship. Here I found that the ship was bulged, and had a great deal of water in her hold, but that she lay so on the side of a bank of hard sand, or rather earth, that her stern lay lifted up upon the bank, and her head low almost to the water. By this means all her quarter was free, and all that was in that part was dry ; for you may be sure my first work was to search and to see what was spoiled and what was free ; and first I found that all the ship's provisions were dry and untouched by the water ; and being very well disposed to eat, I went to the bread-room and filled my pockets with biscuit, and eat it as I went about other things, for I had no time to lose. I also found some rum in the great cabin, of which I took a large dram, and which I had



CRUSOE ON THE RAFT

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indeed need enough of to spirit me for what was before me. Now I wanted nothing but a boat to furnish myself with many things which I foresaw would be very necessary to me.

It was in vain to sit still and wish for what was not to be had, and this extremity roused my application. We had several spare yards, and two or three large spars of wood, and a spare top-mast or two in the ship. I resolved to fall to work with these, and flung as many of them overboard as I could manage for their weight, tying every one with a rope that they might not drive away; when this was done I went down the ship's side, and pulling them to me, I tied four of them fast together at both ends, as well as I could, in the form of a raft, and laying two or three short pieces of plank upon them cross-ways, I found I could walk upon it very well, but that it was not able to bear any great weight, the pieces being too light; so I went to work, and with the carpenter's saw I cut a spare top-mast into three lengths, and added them to my raft, with a great deal of labour and pains: but hope of furnishing myself with necessaries encouraged me to go beyond what I should have been able to have done upon another occasion.

My raft was now strong enough to bear any reasonable weight; my next care was what to load it with, and how to preserve what I laid upon it from the surf of the sea; but I was not long considering this. I first laid all the planks or boards upon it that I could get, and having considered well what I most wanted, I first got three of the seamen's chests, which I had broken open and emptied, and lowered them down upon my raft. The first of these I filled with provisions, namely, bread, rice, three Dutch cheeses, five pieces of dried goat's flesh, which we lived much upon, and a little remainder of European corn which had been laid by for some fowls which we brought to sea with us, but the fowls were killed. There had been some barley and wheat together; but, to my great disappointment, I found afterwards that the rats had eaten or spoiled it all. As for liquors, I found several cases of bottles belonging to our skipper, in which were some cordial waters, and in all about five or six gallons of rack; these I stowed by themselves, there being no need to put them into the chest, nor no room for them. While I was doing this, I found the tide began to flow, though very calm; and I had the mortification to see my coat, shirt, and waistcoat, which I had left on shore upon the sand, swim away; as for my breeches, which were only linen and open-kneed, I swam on board in them and my stockings. However, this put me upon rummaging for clothes, of which I found enough, but took no more than I wanted for present use; for I had other things which my eye was more upon—as, first, tools to work

with on shore ; and it was after long searching that I found out the carpenter's chest, which was indeed a very useful prize to me, and much more valuable than a ship-loading of gold would have been at that time. I got it down to my raft, even whole as it was, without losing time to look into it, for I knew in general what it contained.

My next care was for some ammunition and arms. There were two very good fowling-pieces in the great cabin, and two pistols ; these I secured first, with some powder-horns, and a small bag of shot, and two old rusty swords. I knew there were three barrels of powder in the ship, but knew not where our gunner had stowed them ; but with much search I found them, two of them dry and good, the third had taken water. Those two I got to my raft, with the arms ; and now I thought myself pretty well freighted, and began to think how I should get to shore with them, having neither sail, oar, nor rudder, and the least cap-full of wind would have overset all my navigation.

I had three encouragements : a smooth, calm sea, the tide rising and setting into the shore, and what little wind there was blew me towards the land ; and thus, having found two or three broken oars belonging to the boat, and besides the tools which were in the chest, I found two saws, an axe and a hammer, and with this cargo I put to sea. For a mile, or thereabouts, my raft went very well, only that I found it drive a little distant from the place where I had landed before, by which I perceived that there was some indraft of the water, and consequently I hoped to find some creek or river there, which I might make use of as a port to get to land with my cargo.

As I imagined, so it was. There appeared before me a little opening of the land, and I found a strong current of the tide set into it, so I guided my raft as well as I could to keep in the middle of the stream ; but here I had like to have suffered a second shipwreck, which, if I had, I think verily would have broke my heart ; for knowing nothing of the coast, my raft run a-ground at one end of it upon a shoal, and not being a-ground at the other end, it wanted but a little that all my cargo had slipped off towards that end that was afloat, and so fallen into the water. I did my utmost, by setting my back against the chests, to keep them in their places, but could not thrust off the raft with all my strength, neither durst I stir from the posture I was in ; but holding up the chests with all my might, stood in that manner near half an hour, in which time the rising of the water brought me a little more upon a level ; and a little after, the water still rising, my raft floated again, and I thrust her off with the oar I had into the channel ; and then driving up higher, I at length found myself in the mouth of a

little river, with land on both sides, and a strong current or tide running up. I looked on both sides for a proper place to get to shore, for I was not willing to be driven too high up the river, hoping in time to see some ship at sea, and therefore resolved to place myself as near the coast as I could.

At length I spied a little cove on the right shore of the creek, to which, with great pain and difficulty, I guided my raft, and at last got so near, as that, reaching ground with my oar, I could thrust her directly in. But here I had liked to have dipped all my cargo in the sea again; for that shore lying pretty steep, that is to say sloping, there was no place to land, but where one end of the float, if it run on shore, would lie so high, and the other sink lower as before, that it would endanger my cargo again. All that I could do, was to wait till the tide was at the highest, keeping the raft with my oar like an anchor to hold the side of it fast to the shore, near a flat piece of ground, which I expected the water would flow over; and so it did. As soon as I found water enough (for my raft drew about a foot of water), I thrust her on upon that flat piece of ground, and there fastened or moored her by sticking my two broken oars into the ground; one on one side near one end, and one on the other side near the other end; and thus I lay till the water ebbed away, and left my raft and all my cargo safe on shore.

My next work was to view the country, and seek a proper place for my habitation, and where to stow my goods to secure them from whatever might happen. Where I was I yet knew not; whether on the continent or on an island, whether inhabited or not inhabited, whether in danger of wild beasts or not. There was a hill not above a mile from me, which rose up very steep and high, and which seemed to over-top some other hills which lay as in a ridge from it northward. I took out one of the fowling-pieces, and one of the pistols, and an horn of powder, and thus armed, I travelled for discovery up to the top of that hill; where, after I had with great labour and difficulty got to the top, I saw my fate to my great affliction, namely, that I was in an island environed every way with the sea, no land to be seen, except some rocks which lay a great way off, and two small islands less than this, which lay about three leagues to the west.

I found also that the island I was in was barren, and, as I saw good reason to believe, uninhabited, except by wild beasts, of whom however I saw none; yet I saw abundance of fowls, but knew not their kinds, neither when I killed them could I tell what was fit for food, and what not. At my coming back, I shot at a great bird, which I saw sitting upon a tree on the side of a great wood—I believe it was

the first gun that had been fired there since the creation of the world. I had no sooner fired, but from all parts of the wood there arose an innumerable number of fowls of many sorts, making a confused screaming, and crying every one according to his usual note ; but not one of them of any kind that I knew. As for the creature I killed, I took it to be a kind of hawk, its colour and beak resembling it, but had no talons or claws more than common ; its flesh was carrion and fit for nothing.

Contented with this discovery, I came back to my raft, and fell to work to bring my cargo on shore, which took me up the rest of that day ; and what to do with myself at night I knew not, nor indeed where to rest ; for I was afraid to lie down on the ground, not knowing but some wild beast might devour me, though, as I afterwards found, there was really no need for those fears.

However, as well as I could, I barricaded myself round with the chests and boards that I had brought on shore, and made a kind of a hut



for that night's lodging. As for food, I yet saw not which way to supply myself, except that I had seen two or three creatures, like hares, run out of the wood where I shot the bird.

I now began to consider that I might yet get a great many things out of the ship which would be useful to me, and particularly some of the rigging and sails, and such other things as might come to land, and I resolved to make another voyage on board the vessel, if possible ; and as I knew that the first storm that blew must necessarily break

her all in pieces, I resolved to set all other things apart till I got everything out of the ship that I could get. Then I called a council, that is to say, in my thoughts, whether I should take back the raft ; but this appeared impracticable, so I resolved to go as before, when the tide was down, and I did so, only that I stripped before I went from my hut, having nothing on but a chequered shirt, and a pair of linen trousers, and a pair of pumps on my feet.

I got on board the ship, as before, and prepared a second raft, and having had experience of the first, I neither made this so unwieldy, nor loaded it so hard ; but yet I brought away several things very useful to me ; as first, in the carpenter's stores, I found two or three bags full of nails and spikes, a great screw jack, a dozen or two of hatchets, and above all, that most useful thing called a grindstone. All these I secured, together with several things belonging to the gunner, particularly two or three iron crows, and two barrels of musket-bullets, seven muskets, and another fowling-piece, with some small quantity of powder more, a large bag full of small shot, and a great roll of sheet lead ; but this last was so heavy I could not hoist it up to get it over the ship's side.

Besides these things, I took all the men's clothes that I could find, and a spare fore-top-sail, hammock, and some bedding ; and with this I loaded my second raft, and brought them all safe on shore, to my very great comfort.

I was under some apprehensions during my absence from the land, that at least my provisions might be devoured on shore ; but when I came back, I found no sign of any visitor, only there sat a creature like a wild cat upon one of the chests, which, when I came towards it, ran away a little distance, and then stood still. She sat very composed and unconcerned, and looked full in my face, as if she had a mind to be acquainted with me. I presented my gun at her, but as she did not understand it, she was perfectly unconcerned at it, nor did she offer to stir away ; upon which I tossed her a bit of biscuit, though by the way I was not very free of it, for my store was not great. However, I spared her a bit, I say, and she went to it, smelled it, ate it, and looked, as pleased, for more ; but I thanked her, and could spare no more, so she marched off.

Having got my second cargo on shore, though I was fain to open the barrels of powder, and bring them by parcels (for they were too heavy, being large casks), I went to work to make me a little tent with the sail and some poles which I cut for that purpose ; and into this tent I brought everything that I knew would spoil, either with rain or sun,

and I piled all the empty chests and casks up in a circle round the tent, to fortify it from any sudden attempt, either from man or beast.

When I had done this, I blocked up the door of the tent with some boards within, and an empty chest set up on-end without ; and spreading one of the beds on the ground, laying my two pistols just at my head, and my gun at length by me, I went to bed for the first time, and slept very quietly all night, for I was very weary and heavy ; for the night before I had slept little, and had laboured very hard all day, as well to fetch all those things from the ship as to get them on shore.

I had the biggest magazine of all kinds now that ever were laid up, I believe, for one man, but I was not satisfied still ; for while the ship sat upright in that posture, I thought I ought to get everything out of her that I could : so every day at low water I went on board, and brought away something or other ; but particularly the third time I went, I brought away as much of the rigging as I could, as also all the small ropes and rope-twine I could get, with a piece of spare canvas, which was to mend the sails upon occasion, and the barrel of wet gun-powder. In a word, I brought away all the sails first and last, only that I was fain to cut them in pieces, and bring as much at a time as I could ; for they were no more useful to be sails, but as mere canvas only.

But that which comforted me more still, was that, last of all, after I had made five or six such voyages as these, and thought I had nothing more to expect from the ship that was worth my meddling with ; I say, after all this, I found a great hogshead of bread, and three large runlets of rum or spirits, and a box of sugar, and a barrel of fine flour. This was surprising to me, because I had given over expecting any more provisions, except what was spoiled by the water. I soon emptied the hogshead of that bread, and wrapped it up, parcel by parcel, in pieces of the sails, which I cut out ; and, in a word, I got all this safe on shore also.

The next day I made another voyage ; and now, having plundered the ship of what was portable and fit to hand out, I began with the cables ; and cutting the great cable into pieces, such as I could move, I got two cables and a hawser on shore, with all the iron-work I could get ; and having cut down the spritsail-yard, and the mizen-yard, and everything I could to make a large raft, I loaded it with all those heavy goods and came away. But my good luck began now to leave me ; for this raft was so unwieldy and so overladen, that after I had entered the little cove, where I had landed the rest of my goods, not being able to guide it so handily as I did the other, it overset, and threw me and all my cargo into the water. As for myself it was no great harm, for I

was near the shore ; but as to my cargo, it was great part of it lost, especially the iron, which I expected would have been of great use to me. However, when the tide was out, I got most of the pieces of cable ashore, and some of the iron, though with infinite labour ; for I was fain to dip for it into the water—a work which fatigued me very much. After this, I went every day on board and brought away what I could get.

I had been now thirteen days on shore, and had been eleven times on board the ship, in which time I had brought away all that one pair of hands could be well supposed capable to bring ; though I believe verily, had the calm weather held, I should have brought away the whole ship, piece by piece. But preparing the twelfth time to go on board, I found the wind begin to rise ; however, at low water I went on board, and though I thought I had rummaged the cabin so effectually, as that nothing more could be found, yet I discovered a locker with drawers in it, in one of which I found two or three razors, and one pair of large scissors, with some ten or a dozen of good knives and forks ; in another I found about thirty-six pounds value in money, some European coin, some Brasil, some pieces of eight, some gold, some silver.

I smiled to myself at the sight of this money. “O Drug !” said I, aloud, “what art thou good for ? thou art not worth to me, no, not the taking off the ground. One of these knives is worth all this heap. I have no manner of use for thee, even remain where thou art and go to the bottom, as a creature whose life is not worth saving.” However, upon second thoughts, I took it away, and wrapping all this in a piece of canvas, I began to think of making another raft ; but while I was preparing this, I found the sky over-cast, and the wind began to rise, and in a quarter of an hour it blew a fresh gale from the shore. It presently occurred to me, that it was in vain to pretend to make a raft with the wind off shore, and that it was my business to be gone before the tide of flood began, otherwise I might not be able to reach the shore at all : accordingly I let myself down into the water, and swam across the channel, which lay between the ship and the sands, and even that with difficulty enough, partly with the weight of things I had about me, and partly the roughness of the water ; for the wind rose very hastily, and before it was quite high water it blew a storm.

But I was gotten home to my little tent, where I lay with all my wealth about me very secure. It blew very hard all that night ; and in the morning when I looked out, behold no more ship was to be seen. I was a little surprised, but recovered myself with this satisfactory reflection ; namely, that I had lost no time, nor abated any diligence, to

get everything out of her that could be useful to me ; and that indeed there was little left in her that I was able to bring away, if I had had more time.

I now gave over any more thoughts of the ship, or of any thing out of her, except what might drive on shore from her wreck, as indeed divers pieces of her afterwards did ; but those things were of small use to me.

My thoughts were now wholly employed about securing myself against either savages (if any should appear) or wild beasts, if any were in the island ; and I had many thoughts of the method how to do this, and what kind of dwelling to make ; whether I should make me a cave in the earth, or a tent upon the earth ; and, in short, I resolved upon both, of the manner, and description of which it may not be improper to give an account.

I soon found the place I was in was not for my settlement, particularly because it was upon a low moorish ground near the sea, and I believed would not be wholesome, and more particularly because there was no fresh water near it, so I resolved to find a more healthy and more convenient spot of ground.

I consulted several things in my situation which I found would be proper for me. Health, and fresh water, I just now mentioned ; shelter from the heat of the sun ; security from ravenous creatures, whether man or beast ; a view to the sea, that if God sent any ship in sight, I might not lose any advantage for my deliverance, of which I was not willing to banish all my expectation yet.

In search of a place proper for this, I found a little plain on the side of a rising hill, whose front towards this little plain was steep as a house-side, so that nothing could come down upon me from the top ; on the side of this rock there was a hollow place, worn a little way in, like the entrance or door of a cave : but there was not really any cave or way into the rock at all.

On the flat of the green, just before this hollow place, I resolved to pitch my tent. This plain was not above an hundred yards broad, and about twice as long, and lay like a green before my door, and at the end it descended irregularly every way down into the low grounds by the sea-side. It was on the N.N.W. side of the hill, so that I was sheltered from the heat every day, till it came to a W. and by S. sun, or thereabouts, which in those countries is near the setting.

Before I set up my tent, I drew a half circle before the hollow place, which took in about ten yards in its semi-diameter, from the rock, and twenty yards in its diameter, from its beginning and ending.

In this half circle I pitched two rows of strong stakes, driving them into the ground till they stood very firm, like piles, the biggest end



being out of the ground about five foot and a half, and sharpened on the top ; the two rows did not stand above six inches from one another.

Then I took the pieces of cable which I had cut in the ship, and laid them in rows one upon another, within the circle between these two rows of stakes, up to the top, placing other stakes in the inside, leaning against them, about two foot and a half high, like a spur to a post ; and this fence was so strong, that neither man nor beast could get into it or over it. This cost me a great deal of time and labour, especially to cut the piles in the woods, bring them to the place, and drive them into the earth.

The entrance into this place I made to be not by a door, but by a short ladder to go over the top ; which ladder, when I was in, I lifted over after me : and so I was completely fenced in and fortified, as I thought, from all the world, and consequently slept secure in the night, which otherwise I could not have done ; though, as it appeared afterward, there was no need of all this caution from the enemies that I apprehended danger from.

Into this fence or fortress, with infinite labour, I carried all my riches, all my provisions, ammunition and stores, of which you have the account above ; and I made me a large tent, which, to preserve me from the rains, that in one part of the year are very violent there, I made double, namely, one smaller tent within, and one larger tent above

it, and covered the uppermost with a large tarpaulin which I had saved among the sails.

And now I lay no more for a while in the bed which I had brought on shore, but in a hammock, which was indeed a very good one, and belonged to the mate of the ship.

Into this tent I brought all my provisions, and everything that would spoil by the wet ; and having thus inclosed all my goods I made up the entrance, which till now I had left open, and so passed and repassed, as I said, by a short ladder.

When I had done this, I began to work my way into the rock ; and bringing all the earth and stones that I dug down out through my tent, I laid them up within my fence in the nature of a terrace, that so it raised the ground within about a foot and a half ; and thus I made me a cave just behind my tent, which served me like a cellar to my house.

It cost me much labour, and many days, before all these things were brought to perfection, and therefore I must go back to some other things which took up some of my thoughts. At the same time it happened, after I had laid my scheme for the setting up my tent and making the cave, that a storm of rain falling from a thick, dark cloud, a sudden flash of lightning happened, and after that a great clap of thunder, as is naturally the effect of it. I was not so much surprised with the lightning, as I was with a thought which darted into my mind as swift as the lightning itself : O my powder ! my very heart sunk within me, when I thought, that at one blast all my powder might be destroyed ; on which, not my defence only, but the providing me food, as I thought, entirely depended. I was nothing near so anxious about my own danger, though, had the powder took fire, I had never known who had hurt me.

Such impression did this make upon me, that after the storm was over I laid aside all my works, my building, and fortifying, and applied myself to make bags and boxes to separate the powder, and to keep it a little and a little in a parcel, in hope, that whatever might come, it might not all take fire at once ; and to keep it so apart, that it should not be possible to make one part fire another. I finished this work in about a fortnight ; and I think, my powder, which in all was about 240 pounds weight, was divided in not less than a hundred parcels. As to the barrel that had been wet, I did not apprehend any danger from that, so I placed it in my new cave, which in my fancy I called my kitchen ; and the rest I hid up and down in holes among the rocks, so that no wet might come to it, marking very carefully where I laid it.



CRUSOE ENTICING THE KID

In the interval of time while this was doing, I went out once at least every day with my gun, as well to divert myself as to see if I could kill anything fit for food, and, as near as I could, to acquaint myself with what the island produced. The first time I went out I presently discovered that there were goats in the island, which was a great satisfaction to me; but then it was attended with this misfortune to me, namely, that they were so shy, so subtle, and so swift of foot, that it was the most difficult thing in the world to come at them. But I was not discouraged at this, not doubting but I might now and then shoot one, as it soon happened; for after I had found their haunts a little, I laid wait in this manner for them: I observed, if they saw me in the valleys, though they were upon the rocks, they would run away as in a terrible fright; but if they were feeding in the valleys, and I was upon the rocks, they took no notice of me: from whence I concluded, that by the position of their optics, their sight was so directed downward, that they did not readily see objects that were above them; so afterward I took this method: I always climbed the rocks first, to get above them, and then had frequently a fair mark. The first shot I made among these creatures I killed a she-goat, which had a little kid by her, which she gave suck to, which grieved me heartily; but when the old one fell, the kid stood stock still by her till I came and took her up; and not only so, but when I carried the old one with me upon my shoulders, the kid followed me quite to my inclosure, upon which I laid down the dam, and took the kid in my arms and carried it over my pale, in hopes to have bred it up tame, but it would not eat, so I was forced to kill it and eat it myself. These two supplied me with flesh a great while, for I eat sparingly, and saved my provisions (my bread especially) as much as possibly I could.

Having now fixed my habitation, I found it absolutely necessary to provide a place to make a fire in, and fuel to burn; and what I did for that, as also how I enlarged my cave, and what conveniences I made, I shall give a full account of in its place; but I must first give some little account of myself, and of my thoughts about living, which it may well be supposed were not a few.

I had a dismal prospect of my condition; for as I was not cast away upon that island without being driven, as is said, by a violent storm quite out of the course of our intended voyage, and a great way, some hundreds of leagues, out of the ordinary course of the trade of mankind, I had great reason to consider it as a determination of Heaven that in this desolate place, and in this desolate manner, I should end my life. The tears would run plentifully down my face when I made these

reflections, and sometimes I would expostulate with myself, why Providence should thus completely ruin his creatures, and render them so absolutely miserable, so without help abandoned, so entirely depressed, that it could hardly be rational to be thankful for such a life.

But something always returned swift upon me to check these thoughts and to reprove me ; and particularly one day, walking with my gun in my hand by the sea-side, I was very pensive upon the subject of my present condition, when reason as it were expostulated with me the other way, thus : Well, you are in a desolate condition, it is true ; but pray remember, where are the rest of you ? Did not you come eleven of you into the boat ? Where are the ten ? Why were they not saved and you lost ? Why were you singled out ? Is it better to be here or there ? and then I pointed to the sea. All evils are to be considered with the good that is in them, and with what worse attends them.

Then it occurred to me again, how well I was furnished for my subsistence, and what would have been my case if it had not happened, which was a hundred thousand to one, that the ship floated from the place where she first struck, and was driven so near the shore that I had time to get all these things out of her ? What would have been my case if I had been to have lived in the condition in which I at first came on shore, without necessaries of life or necessaries to supply and procure them ? Particularly, said I aloud (though to myself), what should I have done without a gun, without ammunition, without any tools to make anything, or to work with ; without clothes, bedding, a tent, or any manner of covering ? And that now I had all these to a sufficient quantity, and was in a fair way to provide myself in such a manner, as to live without my gun when my ammunition was spent, so that I had a tolerable view of subsisting, without any want, as long as I lived ; for I considered from the beginning how I should provide for the accidents that might happen and for the time that was to come, even not only after my ammunition should be spent, but even after my health or strength should decay.

I confess I had not entertained any notion of my ammunition being destroyed at one blast, I mean, my powder being blown up by lightning ; and this made the thoughts of it so suprising to me when it lightened and thundered, as I observed just now.

And now being about to enter into a melancholy relation of a scene of silent life, such, perhaps, as was never heard of in the world before, I shall take it from its beginning, and continue it in its order. It was, by my account, the 30th of September, when, in the manner as above said, I first set foot upon this horrid island, when the sun being, to us,

in its autumnal equinox, was almost just over my head ; for I reckoned myself, by observation, to be in the latitude of 9 degrees and 22 minutes north of the line.

After I had been there about ten or twelve days, it came into my thoughts that I should lose my reckoning of time for want of books, and pen and ink, and should even forget the Sabbath days from the working days ; but to prevent this, I cut it with my knife upon a large post in capital letters, and making it into a great cross, I set it up on



the shore where I first landed, namely, I CAME ON SHORE HERE ON THE 30TH OF SEPT. 1659. Upon the sides of this square post I cut every day a notch with my knife, and every seventh notch was as long again as the rest, and every first day of the month as long again as that long one ; and thus I kept my calendar, or weekly, monthly, and yearly reckoning of time.

In the next place we are to observe, that among the many things which I brought out of the ship in the several voyages, which, as above mentioned, I made to it, I got several things of less value, but not all less useful to me, which I omitted setting down before ; as in particular, pens, ink, and paper ; several parcels in the captain's, mate's, gunner's, and carpenter's keeping ; three or four compasses, some mathematical instruments, dials, perspective glasses, charts, and books of navigation ; all which I huddled together, whether I might want them or no ; also, I found three very good bibles which came to me in my cargo from England, and which I had packed up among my things ; some Portuguese books also, and among them two or three popish prayer-books, and several other books, all which I carefully secured.

And I must not forget, that we had in the ship a dog and two cats, of whose eminent history I may have occasion to say something in its place ; for I carried both the cats with me ; and as for the dog, he jumped out of the ship of himself, and swam on shore to me the day after I went on shore with my first cargo, and was a trusty servant to me many years. I wanted nothing that he could fetch me, or any company that he could make up to me ; I only wanted to have him talk to me, but that he could not do. As I observed before, I found pen, ink, and paper, and I husbanded them to the utmost ; and I shall show, that while my ink lasted, I kept things very exact ; but after that was gone I could not, for I could not make any ink, by any means that I could devise.

And this put me in mind that I wanted many things, notwithstanding all that I had amassed together ; and of these this of ink was one, as also spade, pick-axe, and shovel, to dig or remove the earth ; needles, pins, and thread ; as for linen, I soon learned to want that without much difficulty.

This want of tools made every work I did go on heavily, and it was near a whole year before I had entirely finished my little pale or surrounded habitation. The piles or stakes, which were as heavy as I could well lift, were a long time in cutting and preparing in the woods, and more by far in bringing home ; so that I spent sometimes two days in cutting and bringing home one of those posts, and a third day in driving it into the ground ; for which purpose I got a heavy piece of wood at first, but at last bethought myself of one of the iron crows, which, however, though I found it, yet it made driving those posts or piles very laborious and tedious work.

But what need I have been concerned at the tediousness of anything I had to do, seeing I had time enough to do it in, nor had I any other employment if that had been over, at least, that I could foresee, except the ranging the island to seek for food, which I did more or less every day.

I have already described my habitation, which was a tent under the side of a rock, surrounded with a strong pale of posts and cables, but I might now rather call it a wall, for I raised a kind of wall up against it of turfs, about two feet thick on the outside, and after some time, I think it was a year and a half, I raised rafters from it, leaning to the rock, and thatched or covered it with boughs of trees, and such things as I could get to keep out the rain, which I found at some times of the year very violent.

I have already observed how I brought all my goods into this pale,



FELLING TREES FOR PLANKS

and into the cave which I had made behind me ; but I must observe too, that at first this was a confused heap of goods, which, as they lay in no order, so they took up all my place, I had no room to turn myself ; so I set myself to enlarge my cave and works farther into the earth ; for it was a loose, sandy rock, which yielded easily to the labour I bestowed on it. And so when I found I was pretty safe as to beasts of prey, I worked sideways to the right hand into the rock ; and then turning to the right again, worked quite out, and made me a door to come out, on the outside of my pale or fortification.

This gave me not only egress and regress, as it were a backway to my tent and to my storehouse, but gave me room to stow my goods.

And now I began to apply myself to make such necessary things as I found I most wanted, as particularly a chair and a table ; for without these I was not able to enjoy the few comforts I had in the world. I could not write or eat, or do several things with so much pleasure without a table.

So I went to work ; and here I must needs observe, that as reason is the substance and original of the mathematics, so by stating and squaring everything by reason, and by making the most rational judgment of things, every man may be in time master of every mechanic art. I had never handled a tool in my life, and yet in time by labour, application, and contrivance, I found at last that I wanted nothing but I could have made it, especially if I had had tools ; however, I made abundance of things, even without tools, and some with no more tools than an adze and a hatchet, which, perhaps, were never made that way before, and that with infinite labour ; for example, if I wanted a board, I had no other way but to cut down a tree, set it on a hedge before me, and hew it flat on either side with my axe, till I had brought it to be as thin as a plank, and then dub it smooth with my adze. It is true, by this method I could make but one board out of a whole tree, but this I had no remedy for but patience, any more than I had for the prodigious deal of time and labour which it took me up to make a plank or board ; but my time or labour was little worth, and so it was as well employed one way as another.

However, I made me a table and a chair, as I observed above, in the first place, and this I did out of the short pieces of boards which I brought on my raft from the ship ; but when I had wrought out some boards, as above, I made large shelves, of the breadth of a foot and a half, one over another, all along one side of my cave, to lay all my tools, nails, and iron-work, and in a word, to separate everything at large in their places, that I might come easily at them. I knocked

pieces into the wall of the rock to hang my guns and all things that would hang up.

So that had my cave been to be seen, it looked like a general magazine of all necessary things ; and I had everything so ready at my hand, that it was a great pleasure to me to see all my goods in such order, and especially to find my stock of all necessaries so great.

And now it was that I began to keep a journal of every day's employment ; for indeed at first I was in too much hurry, and not only hurry as to labour, but in too much discomposure of mind, and my journal would have been full of many dull things.

I shall here give you the copy (though in it will be told many particulars over again) as long as it lasted ; for having no more ink, I was forced to leave it off.

THE JOURNAL.

Sept. 30, 1659. I, poor, miserable Robinson Crusoe, being shipwrecked, during a dreadful storm, in the offing, came on shore on this dismal, unfortunate island, which I called the Island of Despair, all the rest of the ship's company being drowned, and myself almost dead.

All the rest of that day I spent in afflicting myself, at the dismal circumstances I was brought to, namely, I had neither food, house, clothes, weapon, nor place to fly to, and in despair of any relief, saw nothing but death before me, either that I should be devoured by wild beasts, murdered by savages, or starved to death for want of food. At the approach of night I slept in a tree, for fear of wild creatures, but slept soundly though it rained all night.

October 1. In the morning I saw, to my great surprise, the ship had floated with the high tide, and was driven on shore again much nearer the island, which as it was some comfort on one hand, for seeing her sit upright, and not broken to pieces, I hoped, if the wind abated, I might get on board, and get some food or necessaries out of her for my relief ; so, on the other hand, it renewed my grief at the loss of my comrades, who I imagined if we had all stayed on board might have saved the ship, or at least that they would not have been all drowned, as they were ; and that, had the men been saved, we might perhaps have built us a boat out of the ruins of the ship, to have carried us to some other part of the world. I spent great part of this day in perplexing myself on these things ; but at length, seeing the ship almost dry, I

went upon the sand as near as I could, and then swam on board : this day also it continued raining, though with no wind at all.

From the 1st of *October* to the 24th. All these days entirely spent in making several voyages to get all I could out of the ship, which I brought on shore, every tide of flood, upon rafts. Much rain also in these days, though with some intervals of fair weather : but, it seems, this was the rainy season.

Oct. 20. I overset my raft, and all the goods I had got upon it ; but being in shoal water, and the things being chiefly heavy, I recovered many of them when the tide was out.

Oct. 25. It rained all night and all day, with some gusts of wind, during which time the ship broke in pieces, the wind blowing a little harder than before, and was no more to be seen, except the wreck of her, and that only at low water. I spent this day in covering and securing the goods which I had saved, that the rain might not spoil them.

Oct. 26. I walked about the shore almost all day, to find out a place to fix my habitation, greatly concerned to secure myself from any attack in the night, either from wild beasts or men. Towards night I fixed upon a proper place under a rock, and marked out a semicircle for my encampment, which I resolved to strengthen with a work, wall, or fortification made of double piles, lined within with cables, and without with turf.

From the 26th to the 30th, I worked very hard in carrying all my goods to my new habitation, though some part of the time it rained exceeding hard.

The 31st, in the morning, I went out into the island with my gun, to see for some food, and discover the country, when I killed a she-goat, and her kid followed me home ; which I afterwards killed also, because it would not feed.

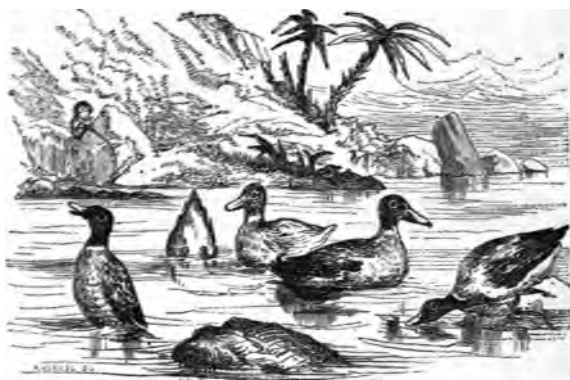
November 1. I set up my tent under a rock, and lay there for the first night, making it as large as I could with stakes driven in to swing my hammock upon.

Nov. 2. I set up all my chests and boards, and the pieces of timber which made my rafts, and with them formed a fence round me, a little within the place I had marked out for my fortification.

Nov. 3. I went out with my gun, and killed two fowls like ducks, which were very good food. In the afternoon went to work to make me a table.

Nov. 4. This morning I began to order my times of work, of going out with my gun, time of sleep, and time of diversion. Every morning

I walked out with my gun for two or three hours, if it did not rain, then employed myself to work till about eleven o'clock, then eat what I had to live on, and from twelve to two I lay down to sleep, the weather being excessive hot, and then in the evening to work again. The



working part of this day, and of the next, were wholly employed in making my table, for I was yet but a very sorry workman, though time and necessity made me a complete natural mechanic soon after, as I believe it would do any one else.

Nov. 5. This day went abroad with my gun and my dog, and killed a wild cat; her skin pretty soft, but her flesh good for nothing: every creature I killed I took off the skins and preserved them. Coming back by the sea-shore I saw many sorts of sea-fowls, which I did not understand; but was surprised and almost frightened with two or three seals, which, while I was gazing at, not well knowing what they were, got into the sea, and escaped me for that time.

Nov. 6. After my morning walk I went to work with my table again, and finished it, though not to my liking; nor was it long before I learned to mend it.

Nov. 7. Now it began to be settled fair weather. The 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and part of the 12th (for the 11th was Sunday) I took wholly up to make me a chair, and with much ado brought it to a tolerable shape, but never to please me; and even in the making I pulled it in pieces several times. *Note.*—I soon neglected my keeping Sundays, for omitting my mark for them on my post, I forgot which was which.

Nov. 13. This day it rained, which refreshed me exceedingly, and cooled the earth ; but it was accompanied with terrible thunder and lightning, which frightened me dreadfully for fear of my powder. As soon as it was over I resolved to separate my stock of powder into as many little parcels as possible, that it might not be in danger.

Nov. 14, 15, 16. These three days I spent in making little square chests or boxes, which might hold about a pound, or two pounds at most, of powder ; and so putting the powder in, I stowed it in places as secure and remote from one another as possible. On one of these three days I killed a large bird that was good to eat, but I know not what to call it.

Nov. 17. This day I began to dig behind my tent into the rock, to make room for my farther conveniency. *Note.* Three things I wanted exceedingly for this work, namely, a pick-axe, a shovel, and a wheel-barrow or basket, so I desisted from my work, and began to consider how to supply that want, and make me some tools. As for a pick-axe, I made use of the iron crows, which were proper enough, though heavy ; but the next thing was a shovel or spade. This was so absolutely necessary, that indeed I could do nothing effectually without it ; but what kind of one to make I knew not.

Nov. 18. The next day, in searching the woods, I found a tree of that wood, or like it, which in the Brasils they call the Iron Tree, for its exceeding hardness ; of this, with great labour and almost spoiling my axe, I cut a piece and brought it home too with difficulty enough, for it was exceeding heavy.

The excessive hardness of the wood, and having no other way, made me a long while upon this machine ; for I worked it effectually by little and little into the form of a shovel or spade, the handle exactly shaped like ours in England, only that the broad part having no iron shod upon it at bottom, it would not last me so long ; however, it served well enough for the uses which I had occasion to put it to ; but never was a shovel, I believe, made after that fashion, or so long a making.

I was still deficient, for I wanted a basket or a wheel-barrow. A basket I could not make by any means, having no such things as twigs that would bend to make wicker ware, at least none yet found out ; and as to a wheel-barrow, I fancied I could make all but the wheel, but that I had no notion of, neither did I know how to go about it ; besides, I had no possible way to make the iron gudgeons for the spindle or axis of the wheel to run in, so I gave it over ; and so for carrying away the earth which I dug out of the cave, I made me

a thing like a hod which the labourers carry mortar in, when they serve the bricklayers.

This was not so difficult to me as the making the shovel ; and yet this, and the shovel, and the attempt which I made in vain to make a wheel-barrow, took me up no less than four days, I mean always excepting my morning walk with my gun, which I seldom failed ; and very seldom failed also bringing home something to eat.

Nov. 23. My other work having now stood still, because of my making these tools, when they were finished I went on, and working every day, as my strength and time allowed, I spent eighteen days entirely in widening and deepening my cave, that it might hold my goods commodiously.

Note. During all this time, I worked to make this room or cave spacious enough to accommodate me as a warehouse or magazine, a kitchen, a dining-room, and a cellar ; as for my lodging, I kept to the tent, except that sometimes in the wet season of the year, it rained so hard that I could not keep myself dry, which caused me afterwards to cover all my place within my pale with long poles in the form of rafters, leaning against the rock, and load them with flags and large leaves of trees like a thatch.

December 10. I began now to think my cave or vault finished, when on a sudden (it seems I had made it too large) a great quantity of earth fell down from the top and one side, so much, that in short it frightened me, and not without reason too ; for if I had been under it, I had never wanted a grave-digger. Upon this disaster I had a great deal of work to do over again ; for I had the loose earth to carry out, and, which was of more importance, I had the ceiling to prop up, so that I might be sure no more would come down.

Dec. 11. This day I went to work with it accordingly, and got two shores or posts pitched upright to the top, with two pieces of boards across over each post ; this I finished the next day, and setting more posts up with boards, in about a week more I had the roof secured ; and the posts, standing in rows, served me for partitions to part off my house.

Dec. 17. From this day to the twentieth I placed shelves, and knocked up nails on the posts to hang everything up that could be hung up ; and now I began to be in some order within doors.

Dec. 20. Now I carried everything into the cave, and began to furnish my house, and set up some pieces of boards, like a dresser, to order my victuals upon ; but boards began to be very scarce with me ; also, I made me another table.

Dec. 24. Much rain all night and all day ; no stirring out.

Dec. 25. Rain all day.

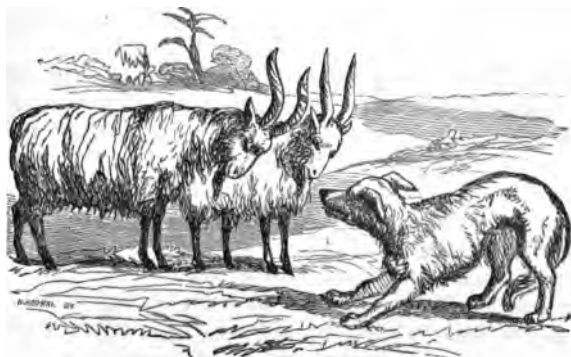
Dec. 26. No rain ; and the earth much cooler than before, and pleasanter.

Dec. 27. Killed a young goat, and lamed another, so that I caught it, and led it home in a string ; when I had it home, I bound and splintered up its leg, which was broke. *N.B.* I took such care of it, that it lived, and the leg grew well and as strong as ever ; but by nursing it so long it grew tame, and fed upon the little green at my door, and would not go away. This was the first time that I entertained a thought of breeding up some tame creatures, that I might have food when my powder and shot was all spent.

Dec. 28, 29, 30. Great heats and no breeze, so that there was no stirring abroad, except in the evening for food ; this time I spent in putting all my things in order within doors.

January 1. Very hot still, but I went abroad early and late with my gun, and lay still in the middle of the day. This evening, going farther into the valleys, which lay towards the centre of the island, I found there was plenty of goats, though exceeding shy and hard to come at ; however, I resolved to try if I could not bring my dog to hunt them down.

Jan. 2. Accordingly, the next day, I went out with my dog, and set him upon the goats ; but I was mistaken, for they all faced about upon the dog ; and he knew his danger too well, for he would not come near them.



Jan. 3. I began my fence or wall ; which, being still jealous of my being attacked by somebody, I resolved to make very thick and strong

N.B. This wall being described before, I purposely omit what was said in the Journal. It is sufficient to observe, that I was no less time than from the 3d of *January* to the 14th of *April*, working, finishing, and perfecting this wall, though it was no more than about twenty-four yards in length, being a half circle from one place in the rock to another place about eight yards from it; the door of the cave being in the centre behind it.

All this time I worked very hard, the rains hindering me many days, nay, sometimes weeks together; but I thought I should never be perfectly secure until this wall was finished; and it is scarce credible what inexpressible labour everything was done with, especially the bringing piles out of the woods, and driving them into the ground, for I made them much bigger than I need to have done.

When this wall was finished, and the outside double fence with a turf-wall raised up close to it, I persuaded myself that if any people were to come on shore there, they would not perceive anything like a habitation; and it was very well I did so, as may be observed hereafter upon a very remarkable occasion.

During this time I made my rounds in the woods for game every day, when the rain permitted me, and made frequent discoveries in these walks of something or other to my advantage; particularly I found a kind of wild pigeons, who built not as wood pigeons, in a tree, but rather as house pigeons, in the holes of the rocks; and taking some young ones, I endeavoured to breed them up tame, and did so; but when they grew older they flew away, which perhaps was at first for want of feeding them, for I had nothing to give them; however, I frequently found their nests, and got their young ones, which were very good meat.

And now, in the managing my household affairs, I found myself wanting in many things, which I thought at first it was impossible for me to make, as indeed, as to some of them, it was; for instance, I could never make a cask to be hooped. I had a small runlet or two, as I observed before, but I could never arrive to the capacity of making one by them, though I spent many weeks about it; I could neither put in the heads, or joint the staves so true to one another as to make them hold water, so I gave that also over.

In the next place, I was at a great loss for candle; so that as soon as ever it was dark, which was generally by seven o'clock, I was obliged to go to bed. I remembered the lump of bees-wax with which I made candles in my African adventure, but I had none of that now; the only remedy I had was, that when I had killed a goat





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I saved the tallow, and with a little dish made of clay, which I baked in the sun, to which I added a wick of some oakum, I made me a lamp ; and this gave me light, though not a clear, steady light like a candle. In the middle of all my labours it happened, that rummaging my things, I found a little bag, which, as I hinted before, had been filled with corn for the feeding of poultry, not for this voyage, but before, as I suppose, when the ship came from Lisbon ; what little remainder of corn had been in the bag, was all devoured with the rats, and I saw nothing in the bag but husks and dust ; and being willing to have the bag for some other use, I think it was to put powder in, when I divided it for fear of the lightning, or some such use, I shook the husks of corn out of it on one side of my fortification under the rock.

It was a little before the great rains, just now mentioned, that I threw this stuff away, taking no notice of anything, and not so much as remembering that I had thrown anything there ; when about a month after, or thereabouts, I saw some few stalks of something green shooting out of the ground, which I fancied might be some plant I had not seen ; but I was surprised and perfectly astonished, when after a little longer time I saw about ten or twelve ears come out, which were perfect green barley of the same kind as our European, nay, as our English barley.

It is impossible to express the astonishment and confusion of my thoughts on this occasion. I had hitherto acted upon no religious foundation at all ; indeed, I had very few notions of religion in my head, or had entertained any sense of anything that had befallen me, otherwise than as a chance, or, as we lightly say, what pleases God ; without so much as inquiring into the end of Providence in these things, or his order in governing events in the world ; but after I saw barley grow there, in a climate which I knew was not proper for corn, and especially that I knew not how it came there, it startled me strangely ; and I began to suggest, that God had miraculously caused this grain to grow without any help of seed sown, and that it was so directed purely for my sustenance on that wild, miserable place.

This touched my heart a little, and brought tears out of my eyes, and I began to bless myself, that such a prodigy of nature should happen upon my account ; and this was the more strange to me, because I saw near it still, all along by the side of the rock, some other straggling stalks, which proved to be stalks of rice, and which I knew, because I had seen it grow in Africa, when I was ashore there.

I not only thought these the pure productions of Providence for my

support, but not doubting but that there was more in the place, I went all over that part of the island, where I had been before, peeping in every corner and under every rock to see for more of it, but I could not find any ; at last it occurred to my thought, that I had shook a bag of chickens' meat out in that place, and then the wonder began to cease. And I must confess, my religious thankfulness to God's providence began to abate too, upon discovering that all this was nothing but what was common ; though I ought to have been as thankful for so strange and unforeseen a providence as if it had been miraculous ; for it was really the work of Providence as to me, that should order or appoint ten or twelve grains of corn to remain unspoiled, when the rats had destroyed all the rest, as if it had been dropped from heaven ; as also, that I should throw it out in that particular place, where, it being in the shade of a high rock, it sprang up immediately ; whereas, if I had thrown it anywhere else at that time, it had been burnt up and destroyed.

I carefully saved the ears of this corn, you may be sure, in their season, which was about the end of June, and laying up every corn, I resolved to sow them all again, hoping in time to have some quantity sufficient to supply me with bread ; but it was not till the fourth year that I could allow myself the least grain of this corn to eat, and even then but sparingly, as I shall say afterwards in its order ; for I lost all that I sowed the first season, by not observing the proper time ; for I sowed it just before the dry season, so that it never came up at all, at least, not as it would have done : of which in its place.

Besides this barley, there were, as above, twenty or thirty stalks of rice, which I preserved with the same care, and whose use was of the same kind or to the same purpose, namely, to make me bread, or rather food ; for I found ways to cook it up without baking, though I did that also after some time. But to return to my journal.

I worked excessive hard these three or four months to get my wall done ; and the 14th of April I closed it up, contriving to go into it not by a door, but over the wall by a ladder, that there might be no sign in the outside of my habitation.

April 16. I finished the ladder, so I went up with the ladder to the top, and then pulled it up after me, and let it down on the inside. This was a complete inclosure to me ; for within I had room enough, and nothing could come at me from without, unless it could first mount my wall.

The very next day after this wall was finished, I had almost had all my labour overthrown at once, and myself killed. The case was thus,

As I was busy in the inside of it, behind my tent, just in the entrance into my cave, I was terribly frightened with a most dreadful surprising thing indeed ; for on a sudden I found the earth come crumbling down from the roof of my cave, and from the edge of the hill, over my head, and two of the posts I had set up in the cave cracked in a frightful manner. I was heartily scared, but thought nothing of what was really the cause, only thinking that the top of my cave was falling in, as some of it had done before ; and, for fear I should be buried in it, I ran forward to my ladder ; and not thinking myself safe there neither, I got over my wall for fear of the pieces of the hill which I expected might roll down upon me. I was no sooner stepped down upon the firm ground, but I plainly saw it was a terrible earthquake, for the ground I stood on shook three times at about eight minutes' distance, with three such shocks as would have overturned the strongest building that could be supposed to have stood on the earth ; and a great piece of the top of a rock, which stood about half a mile from me next the sea, fell down with such a terrible noise as I never heard in all my life. I perceived also the very sea was put into violent motion by it ; and I believe the shocks were stronger under the water than on the island.

I was so amazed with the thing itself, having never felt the like, or discoursed with any one that had, that I was like one dead or stupified ; and the motion of the earth made my stomach sick, like one that was tossed at sea. But the noise of the falling of the rock awaked me, as it were, and rousing me from the stupified condition I was in, filled me with horror, and I thought of nothing then but the hill falling upon my tent, and all my household goods, and burying all at once ; and this sunk my very soul within me a second time.

After the third shock was over, and I felt no more for some time, I began to take courage, and yet I had not heart enough to get over my wall again, for fear of being buried alive, but sat still upon the ground, greatly cast down and disconsolate, not knowing what to do. All this while I had not the least serious religious thought, nothing but the common, "Lord, have mercy upon me ;" and when it was over, that went away too.

While I sat thus, I found the air overcast, and grow cloudy, as if it would rain ; soon after that the wind rose by little and little, so that in less than half an hour it blew a most dreadful hurricane. The sea was all on a sudden covered over with foam and froth, the shore was covered with the breach of the water, the trees were torn up by the roots, and a terrible storm it was ; and this held about three hours,

and then began to abate, and in two hours more it was stark calm, and began to rain very hard.

All this while I sat upon the ground, very much terrified and dejected, when on a sudden it came into my thoughts, that these winds and rain being the consequences of the earthquake, the earthquake itself was spent and over, and I might venture into my cave again. With this thought my spirits began to revive, and the rain also helping to persuade me, I went in and sat down in my tent, but the rain was so violent, that my tent was ready to be beaten down with it; and I was forced to go into my cave, though very much afraid and uneasy, for fear it should fall on my head.

This violent rain forced me to a new work, namely to cut a hole through my new fortification like a sink to let water go out, which would else have drowned my cave. After I had been in my cave some time, and found still no more shocks of the earthquake follow, I began to be more composed. And now, to support my spirits, which indeed wanted it very much, I went to my little store, and took a small sup of rum, which however I did then, and always, very sparingly, knowing I could have no more when that was gone.

It continued raining all that night, and great part of the next day, so that I could not stir abroad; but my mind being more composed, I began to think of what I had best do, concluding, that if the island was subject to these earthquakes, there would be no living for me in a cave, but I must consider of building me some little hut in an open place, which I might surround with a wall as I had done here, and so make myself secure from wild beasts or men: but concluded if I staid where I was, I should certainly, one time or other, be buried alive.

With these thoughts I resolved to remove my tent from the place where it stood, which was just under the hanging precipice of the hill, and which, if it should be shaken again, would certainly fall upon my tent. And I spent the next two days, being the 19th and 20th of April, in contriving where and how to remove my habitation.

The fear of being swallowed up alive, made me that I never slept in quiet: and yet the apprehension of lying abroad, without any fence, was almost equal to it; but still, when I looked about and saw how everything was put in order, how pleasantly concealed I was, and how safe from danger, it made me very loth to remove.

In the mean time it occurred to me that it would require a vast deal of time for me to do this, and that I must be contented to run the venture where I was, till I had formed a camp for myself, and had secured it so as to remove to it; so with this resolution I composed

myself for a time, and resolved that I would go to work with all speed to build me a wall with piles and cables, in a circle as before ; and set my tent up in it when it was finished, but that I would venture to stay where I was till it was finished and fit to remove to. This was the 21st.

April 22. The next morning I began to consider of means to put this resolve in execution, but I was at a great loss about my tools ; I had three large axes and abundance of hatchets (for we carried the hatchets for traffic with the Indians), but with much chopping and cutting knotty hard wood, they were all full of notches and dull, and though I had a grind-stone, I could not turn it and grind my tools too : this cost me as much thought as a statesman would have bestowed upon a grand point of politics, or a judge upon the life and death of a man. At length I contrived a wheel with a string, to turn it with my foot,



that I might have both my hands at liberty. I had never seen any such thing in England, or at least not to take notice how it was done, though since I have observed it is very common there ; besides that, my grind-stone was very large and heavy. This machine cost me a full week's work to bring it to perfection.

April 28, 29. These two whole days I took up in grinding my tools, my machine for turning my grind-stone performing very well.

April 30. Having perceived my bread had been low a great while, now I took a survey of it, and reduced myself to one biscuit cake a day, which made my heart very heavy.

May 1. In the morning, looking towards the sea-side, the tide



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of my employment, to be when the tide was up, that I might be ready when it was ebb'd out; and by this time I had gotten timber, and plank, and iron-work enough to have built a good boat, if I had known how; and also, I got at several times, and in several pieces, near a hundred weight of the sheet-lead.

June 16. Going down to the sea-side, I found a large tortoise or turtle; this was the first I had seen, which it seems was only my mis-



fortune, not any defect of the place, or scarcity; for had I happened to be on the other side of the island, I might have had hundreds of them every day; as I found afterwards; but perhaps had paid dear enough for them.

June 17. I spent in cooking the turtle. I found in her threescore eggs; and her flesh was to me at that time the most savoury and pleasant that ever I tasted in my life, having had no flesh, but of goats and fowls, since I landed in this horrid place.

June 18. Rained all day, and I stay'd within. I thought at this time the rain felt cold, and I was something chilly, which I knew was not usual in that latitude.

June 19. Very ill, and shivering, as if the weather had been cold.

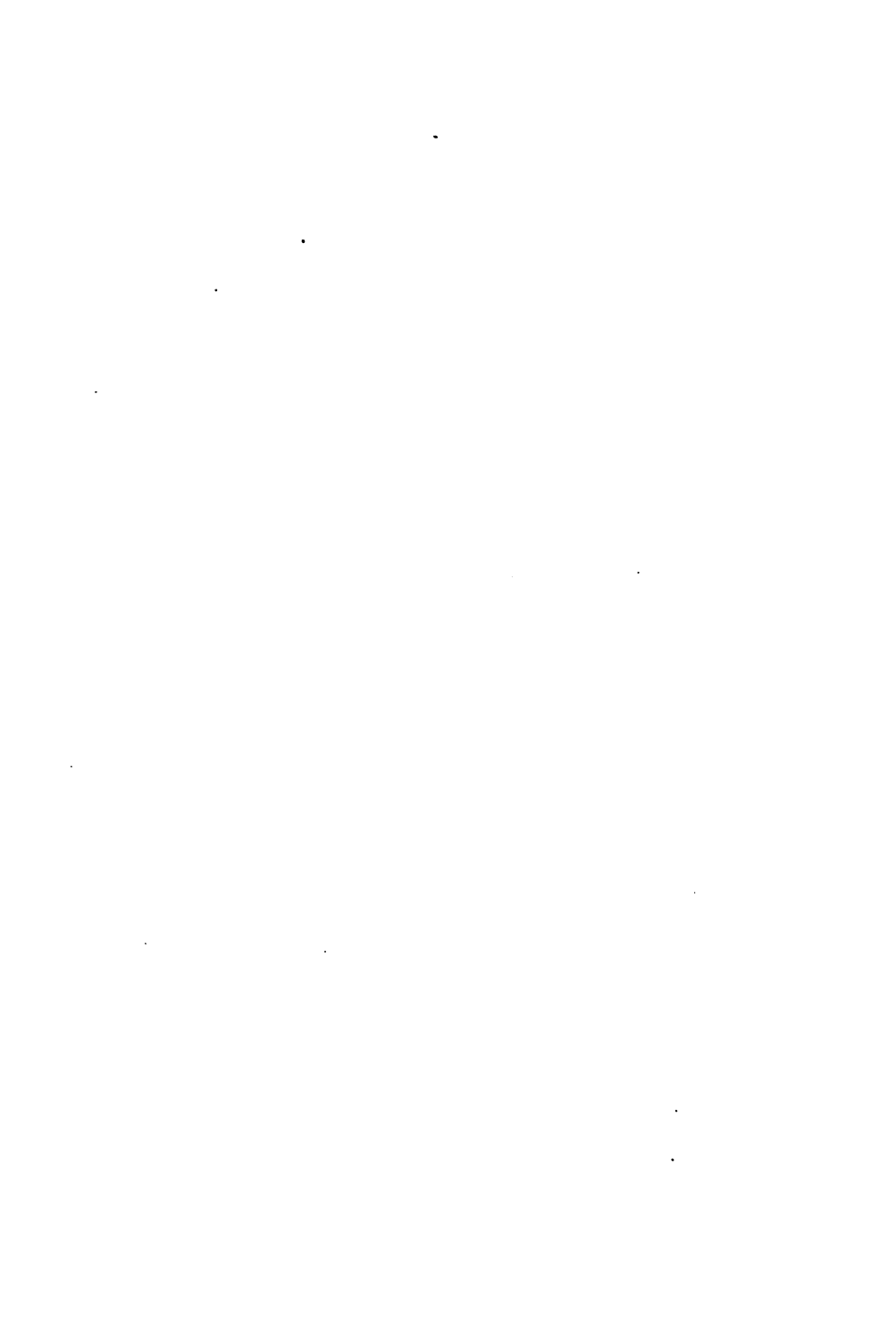
June 20. No rest all night, violent pains in my head, and feverish.

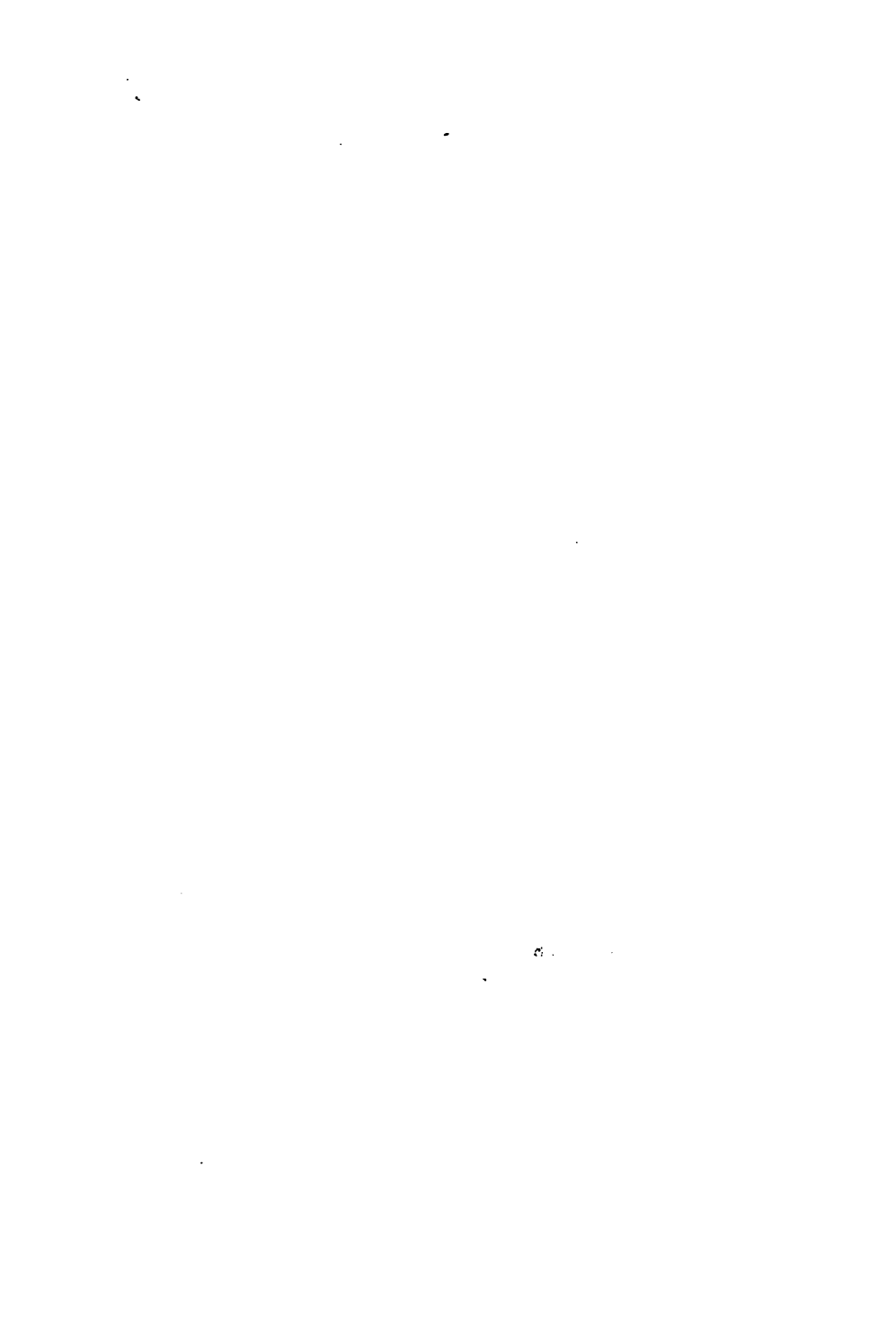
June 21. Very ill, frighted almost to death with the apprehensions of my sad condition, to be sick and no help. Prayed to God for the first time since the storm off Hull, but scarce knew what I said, or why; my thoughts being all confused.

June 22. A little better, but under dreadful apprehensions of sickness.



CRUSOE'S DREAM





June 23. Very bad again, cold and shivering, and then a violent head-ach.

June 24. Much better.

June 25. An ague very violent ; the fit held me seven hours, cold fit and hot, with faint sweats after it.

June 26. Better ; and having no victuals to eat, took my gun, but found myself very weak ; however, I killed a she-goat, and with much difficulty got it home, and broiled some of it, and ate ; I would fain have stewed it, and made some broth, but had no pot.

June 27. The ague again so violent, that I lay a-bed all day, and neither eat or drank. I was ready to perish for thirst, but so weak I had not strength to stand up, or to get myself any water to drink. Prayed to God again, but was light-headed ; and when I was not, I was so ignorant that I knew not what to say ; only I lay and cried, Lord, look upon me ; Lord, pity me ; Lord, have mercy upon me. I suppose I did nothing else for two or three hours, till the fit wearing off, I fell asleep, and did not wake till far in the night ; when I waked I found myself much refreshed, but weak and exceeding thirsty : however, as I had no water in my whole habitation, I was forced to lie till morning, and went to sleep again. In this second sleep I had this terrible dream.

I thought that I was sitting on the ground on the outside of my wall, where I sat when the storm blew after the earthquake, and that I saw a man descend from a great black cloud, in a bright flame of fire, and alight upon the ground. He was all over as bright as a flame, so that I could but just bear to look towards him ; his countenance was most inexpressibly dreadful, impossible for words to describe ; when he stepped upon the ground with his feet I thought the earth trembled just as it had done before in the earthquake, and all the air looked to my apprehension as if it had been filled with flashes of fire.

He was no sooner landed upon the earth, but he moved forward toward me, with a long spear or weapon in his hand to kill me ; and when he came to a rising ground, at some distance, he spoke to me, or I heard a voice so terrible, that it is impossible to express the terror of it ; all that I can say I understood was this, "Seeing all these things have not brought thee to repentance, now thou shalt die ;" at which words I thought he lifted up the spear that was in his hand to kill me.

No one, that shall ever read this account, will expect that I should be able to describe the horrors of my soul at this terrible vision ; I mean, that even while it was a dream, I even dreamed of those horrors ; nor is it any more possible to describe the impression that remained upon my mind, when I awaked, and found it was but a dream.

June 28. Having been somewhat refreshed with the sleep I had had, and the fit being entirely off, I got up ; and though the fright and terror of my dream was very great, yet I considered, that the fit of the ague would return again next day, and now was my time to get something to refresh and support myself when I should be ill. And the first thing I did, I filled a large square case-bottle with water, and set it upon my table, in reach of my bed ; and to take off the chill or aguish disposition of the water, I put about a quarter of a pint of rum into it, and mixed them together. Then I got me a piece of the goat's flesh, and broiled it on the coals, but could eat very little. I walked about, but was very weak, and withal, very sad and heavy-hearted under a sense of my miserable condition, dreading the return of my distemper the next day. At night I made my supper of three of the turtle's eggs, which I roasted in the ashes, and eat, as we call it, in the shell ; and this was the first bit of meat I had ever asked God's blessing to, even, as I could remember, in my whole life.

After I had eaten I tried to walk ; but found myself so weak, that I could hardly carry the gun (for I never went out without that) ; so I went but a little way, and sat down upon the ground, looking out upon the sea, which was just before me, and very calm and smooth.

I rose up pensive and sad, walked back to my retreat, and went up over my wall, as if I had been going to bed ; but my thoughts were sadly disturbed, and I had no inclination to sleep ; so I sat down in my chair, and lighted my lamp, for it began to be dark. Now as the apprehension of the return of my distemper terrified me very much, it occurred to my thought, that the Brasilians take no physic but their tobacco, for almost all distempers ; and I had a piece of a roll of tobacco in one of the chests, which was quite cured, and some also that was green, and not quite cured.

I went, directed by Heaven, no doubt ! for in this chest I found a cure both for soul and body ! I opened the chest, and found what I looked for, namely the tobacco ; and as the few books I had saved lay there too, I took out one of the bibles which I mentioned before, and which, to this time, I had not found leisure, or so much as inclination, to look into ; I say I took it out, and brought both that and the tobacco with me to the table.

What use to make of the tobacco I knew not, as to my distemper, or whether it was good for it or no ; but I tried several experiments with it, as if I resolved it should hit one way or other : I first took a piece of a leaf, and chewed it in my mouth, which indeed at first almost stupified my brain, the tobacco being green and strong, and that I had

not been used to it ; then I took some, and steeped it an hour or two in some rum, and resolved to take a dose of it when I lay down ; and lastly, I burnt some upon a pan of coals, and held my nose close over the smoke of it, as long as I could bear it, and I held almost to suffocation.

In the interval of this operation, I took up the bible, and began to read ; but my head was too much disturbed with the tobacco to bear



reading, at least at that time. Only having opened the book casually, the first words that occurred to me were these, "Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me."

The words were very apt to my case, and made some impression upon my thoughts at the time of reading them, though not so much as they did afterwards ; for, as for being delivered, the word had no sound, as I may say, to me ; the thing was so remote, so impossible in my apprehension of things, that I began to say as the children of Israel did when they were promised flesh to eat, "Can God spread a table in the wilderness ?" so I began to say, can God himself deliver me from this place ? And as it was not for many years that any hope appeared, this prevailed very often upon my thoughts ; but, however, the words made a very great impression upon me, and I mused upon them very often. It grew now late, and the tobacco had, as I said, dozed my head so much, that I inclined to sleep ; so I left my lamp burning in the cave, lest I should want anything in the night, and went to bed : but before I lay down, I did what I never had done in all my life ; I kneeled down

and prayed to God to fulfil the promise to me, that if I called upon him in the day of trouble, he would deliver me. After my broken and imperfect prayer was over, I drank the rum in which I had steeped the tobacco, which was so strong and rank of the tobacco, that indeed I could scarce get it down. Immediately upon this I went to bed, and I found presently it flew up into my head violently ; but I fell into a sound sleep, and waked no more, till noon the next day ; nay, to this hour I am partly of the opinion, that I slept all the next day and night, and till almost three the day after ; for otherwise I knew not how I should lose a day out of my reckoning in the days of the week, as it appeared some years after I had done ; for if I had lost it by crossing and recrossing the line, I should have lost more than one day : but certainly I lost a day in my account, and never knew which way.

Be that however one way or other, when I waked, I found myself exceedingly refreshed, and my spirits lively and cheerful. When I got up, I was stronger than I was the day before, and my stomach better ; for I was hungry ; and, in short, I had no fit the next day, but continued much altered for the better. This was the 29th.

The 30th was my well day, of course ; and I went abroad with my gun, but did not care to travel too far. I killed a sea-fowl or two, something like a brand goose, and brought them home, but was not very forward to eat them : so I eat some more of the turtle's eggs, which were very good. This evening I renewed the medicine which I had supposed did me good the day before, namely, the tobacco steeped in rum ; only I did not take so much as before, nor did I chew any of the leaf, or hold my head over the smoke. However, I was not so well the next day, which was the first of July, as I hoped I should have been ; for I had a little spice of the cold fit, but it was not much.

July 2. I renewed the medicine all the three ways, and dosed myself with it at first, and doubled the quantity which I drank.

July 3. I missed the fit for good and all, though I did not recover my full strength for some weeks after. While I was thus gathering strength, my thoughts run exceedingly upon the scripture, "I will deliver thee ;" and the impossibility of my deliverance lay much upon my mind, in bar of my ever expecting it : but as I was discouraging myself with such thoughts, it occurred to my mind, that I pored so much on my deliverance from the main affliction, that I disregarded the deliverance I had received ; and I was, as it were, made to ask myself such questions as these ; namely, Have I not been delivered, and wonderfully too, from sickness ? from the most distressed condition that could be, and that was so frightful to me ? and what notice had I

taken of it? had I done my part? "God had delivered me: but I had not glorified him:" that is to say, I had not owned and been thankful for that as a deliverance; and how could I expect greater deliverance?

This touched my heart very much, and immediately I kneeled down, and gave God thanks, aloud, for my recovery from my sickness.

July 4. In the morning I took the bible; and, beginning at the New Testament, I began seriously to read it, and imposed upon myself to read awhile every morning and every night, not tying myself to the number of chapters, but as long as my thoughts should engage me. It was not long after I set seriously to this work, but I found my heart more deeply and sincerely affected with the wickedness of my past life.

Now I began to construe the words mentioned above "Call on me, and I will deliver thee," in a different sense from what I had ever done before; for then I had no notion of anything being called deliverance, but my being delivered from the captivity I was in: for though I was indeed at large in the place, yet the island was certainly a prison to me, and that, in the worst sense in the world; but now I learned to take it in another sense. Now I looked back upon my past life with such horror, and my sins appeared so dreadful, that my soul sought nothing of God, but deliverance from the load of guilt that bore down all my comfort. As for my solitary life, it was nothing; I did not so much as pray to be delivered from it, or think of it; it was all of no consideration, in comparison of this. And I add this part here, to hint to whoever shall read it, that whenever they come to a true sense of things, they will find deliverance from sin a much greater blessing than deliverance from affliction.

But, leaving this part, I return to my journal:—

My condition began now to be, though not less miserable as to my way of living, yet much easier to my mind: and my thoughts being directed, by a constant reading the Scripture, and praying to God, to things of a higher nature, I had a great deal of comfort within, which till now I knew nothing of; also as my health and strength returned, I bestirred myself to furnish myself with everything that I wanted, and make my way of living as regular as I could.

From the 4th of *July* to the 14th, I was chiefly employed in walking about with my gun in my hand, a little and a little at a time, as a man that was gathering up his strength after a fit of sickness; for it is hardly to be imagined how low I was, and to what weakness I was reduced. The application which I made use of was perfectly new, and perhaps what had never cured an ague before; neither can I

recommend it to any one to practice by this experiment ; and though it did carry off the fit, yet it rather contributed to weaken me ; for I had frequent convulsions in my nerves and limbs for some time.

I learnt from it also this, in particular, that being abroad in the rainy season was the most pernicious thing to my health that could be, especially in those rains which came attended with storms and hurricanes of wind ; for as the rain which came in the dry season was always most accompanied with such storms, so I found this rain was much more dangerous than the rain which fell in September and October.

I had been now in this unhappy island above ten months ; all possibility of deliverance from this condition seemed to be entirely taken from me ; and I firmly believed that no human shape had ever set foot upon that place. Having now secured my habitation, as I thought, fully to my mind, I had a great desire to make a more perfect discovery of the island, and to see what other productions I might find, which I yet knew nothing of.

It was on the 15th of July that I began to take a more particular survey of the island itself ; I went up the creek first, where, as I hinted, I brought my rafts on shore. I found, after I came about two miles up, that the tide did not flow any higher, and that it was no more than a little brook of running water, and very fresh and good ; but this being the dry season, there was hardly any water in some parts of it, at least not enough to run in any stream, so as it could be perceived.

On the banks of this brook I found many pleasant savannas or meadows, plain, smooth, and covered with grass ; and on the rising parts of them next to the higher grounds, where the water, as it might be supposed, never overflowed, I found a great deal of tobacco, green, and growing to a great and very strong stalk. There were divers other plants which I had no notion of, or understanding about ; and might perhaps have virtues of their own, which I could not find out.

I searched for the cassava root, which the Indians in all that climate make their bread of, but I could not find none. I saw large plants of aloes, but did not then understand them. I saw several sugar canes, but wild, and for want of cultivation, imperfect. I contented myself with these discoveries for this time, and came back musing with myself what course I might take to know the virtue and goodness of any of the fruits or plants which I should discover, but could bring it to no conclusion : for in short, I had made so little observation while I was in the Brasils, that I knew little of the plants of the field, at least very little that might serve me to any purpose now in my distress.

The next day, the 16th, I went up the same way again ; and, after

going something farther than I had done the day before, I found the brook and the savannas began to cease, and the country became more woody than before. In this part I found different fruits, and particularly I found melons upon the ground in great abundance, and grapes upon the trees; the vines had spread indeed over the trees, and



the clusters of grapes were just now in their prime, very ripe and rich. This was a surprising discovery, and I was exceedingly glad of them; but I was warned by my experience to eat sparingly of them, remembering that, when I was ashore in Barbary, the eating of grapes killed several of our Englishmen who were slaves there, by throwing them into fluxes and fevers: but I found an excellent use for these grapes, and that was to cure or dry them in the sun and keep them as dried grapes or raisins are kept, which I thought would be, as indeed they were, as wholesome, and as agreeable to eat, when no grapes might be had.

I spent all that evening there, and went not back to my habitation, which by the way was the first night, as I might say, I had lain from home. In the night I took my first contrivance, and got up into a tree, where I slept well, and the next morning proceeded upon my discovery, travelling near four miles, as I might judge by the length of the valley, keeping still due north, with a ridge of hills on the south and north side of me.

At the end of this march I came to an opening, where the country seemed to descend to the west; and a little spring of fresh water,

which issued out of the side of the hill by me, ran the other way, that is, due east; and the country appeared so fresh, so green, so flourishing, everything being in a constant verdure or flourishing of spring, that it looked like a planted garden.

I descended a little on the side of that delicious valley, surveying it with a secret kind of pleasure (though mixed with other afflicting thoughts), to think that this was all my own, that I was king and lord of all this country indefeasibly, and had a right of possession; and if I could convey it, I might have it in inheritance, as completely as any lord of a manor in England. I saw here abundance of cocoa-trees, orange and lemon, and citron-trees, but all wild, and few bearing any fruit; at least, not then. However, the green limes that I gathered were not only pleasant to eat, but very wholesome; and I mixed their juice afterwards with water, which made it very wholesome, and very cool and refreshing.

I found now I had business enough to gather and carry home; and resolved to lay up a store, as well of grapes, as limes, and lemons, to furnish myself for the wet season, which I knew was approaching.

In order to do this I gathered a heap of grapes in one place, and a lesser heap in another place; and a great parcel of limes, and lemons, in another place; and taking a few of each with me, I travelled homeward, and resolved to come again, and bring a bag or sack, or what I could make, to carry the rest home.

Accordingly, having spent three days in this journey, I came home (so I must now call my tent, and my cave); but before I got thither the grapes were spoiled; the richness of the fruit, and the weight of the juice, having broken them, and bruised them, they were good for little or nothing; as to the limes, they were good, but I could bring but a few.

The next day, being the 19th, I went back, having made me two small bags to bring home my harvest. But I was surprised, when coming to my heap of grapes, which were so rich and fine when I gathered them, I found them all spread abroad, trod to pieces, and dragged about, some here, some there, and abundance eaten and devoured. By this I concluded there were some wild creatures thereabouts, which had done this; but what they were I knew not.

However, as I found there was no laying them up on heaps, and no carrying them away in a sack, but that one way they would be destroyed, and the other way they would be crushed with their own weight, I took another course; for I gathered a large quantity of the grapes, and hung them upon the out branches of the trees, that they might cure and dry

in the sun ; and as for the limes and lemons, I carried as many back as I could well stand under.

When I came home from this journey, I contemplated with great pleasure on the fruitfulness of that valley, and the pleasantness of the situation, the security from storms on that side of the water, and the wood ; and concluded that I had pitched upon a place to fix my abode, which was by far the worst part of the country. Upon the whole, I began to consider of removing my habitation, and to look out for a place equally safe as where I now was situated, if possible, in that pleasant and fruitful part of the island.

This thought ran long in my head, and I was exceeding fond of it for some time, the pleasantness of the place tempting me ; but when I came to a nearer view of it, and to consider that I was now by the sea-side, where it was at least possible that something might happen to my advantage, and that the same ill fate that brought me hither, might bring some other unhappy wretches to the same place, and though it was scarce probable that any such thing should ever happen, yet to enclose myself among the hills and woods, in the centre of the island, was to anticipate my bondage, and to render such an affair not only improbable, but impossible ; and that therefore I ought not by any means to remove.

However, I was so enamoured of this place, that I spent much of my time there for the whole remaining part of the month of July and though, upon second thoughts, I resolved as above, not to remove, yet I built me a little kind of a bower, and surrounded it at a distance with a strong fence, being a double hedge, as high as I could reach, well staked and filled between with brushwood ; and here I lay very secure, sometimes two or three nights together, always going over it with a ladder, as before ; so that I fancied now I had my country house, and my sea-coast house : and this work took me up to the beginning of August.

I had but newly finished my fence, and began to enjoy my labour, but the rains came on, and made me stick close to my first habitation ; for though I had made me a tent like the other, with a piece of a sail, and spread it very well, yet I had not the shelter of a hill to keep me from storms, nor a cave behind me to retreat into when the rains were extraordinary.

About the beginning of August, as I said, I had finished my bower, and began to enjoy myself. The 3rd of August I found the grapes I had hung up were perfectly dried, and indeed were excellent good raisins of the sun : so I began to take them down from the trees, and it was

very happy that I did so ; for the rains which followed would have spoiled them, and I had lost the best part of my winter food ; for I had above two hundred large bunches of them. No sooner had I taken them all down, and carried most of them home to my cave, but it began to rain ; and from thence, which was the 14th of August, it rained more or less every day, till the middle of October ; and sometimes so violently, that I could not stir out of my cave for several days.

In this season I was much surprised with the increase of my family : I had been concerned for the loss of one of my cats, who ran away from me, or, as I thought, had been dead ; and I heard no more tidings of her, till, to my astonishment, she came home about the end of August, with three kittens. This was the more strange to me, because though I had killed a wild cat, as I called it, with my gun, yet I thought it was a quite different kind from our European cats ; yet the young cats were the same kind of house breed like the old one ; and both my cats being females, I thought it very strange : but from these three cats, I afterwards came to be so pestered with cats, that I was forced to kill them like vermin, or wild beasts, and to drive them from my house as much as possible.

From the 14th of August to the 26th, incessant rain, so that I could not stir, and was now very careful not to be much wet. In this confinement I began to be straitened for food : but venturing out twice, I one day killed a goat : and the last day, which was the 26th, found a very large tortoise, which was a treat to me ; and my food was regulated thus :—I eat a bunch of raisins for my breakfast, a piece of the goat's flesh, or of the turtle, for my dinner, broiled (for to my great misfortune I had no vessel to boil or stew anything), and two or three of the turtle's eggs for supper.

During this confinement in my cover, by the rain, I worked daily two or three hours at enlarging my cave ; and, by degrees, worked it on towards one side, till I came to the outside of the hill, and made a door or way out, which came beyond my fence or wall ; and so I came in and out this way. But I was not perfectly easy at lying so open ; for as I had managed myself before, I was in a perfect enclosure, whereas now I thought I lay exposed ; and yet I could not perceive that there was any living thing to fear, the biggest creature that I had seen upon the island being a goat.

September 30. I was now come to the unhappy anniversary of my landing. I cast up the notches on my post, and found I had been on shore three hundred and sixty-five days. I kept this day as a solemn fast, setting it apart to a religious exercise, prostrating myself

on the ground with the most serious humiliation, confessing my sins to God, acknowledging his righteous judgments upon me, and praying to him to have mercy on me, through Jesus Christ ; and having not tasted the least refreshment for twelve hours, even to the going down of the sun, I then ate a biscuit-cake, and a bunch of grapes, and went to bed, finishing the day as I began it.

I had all this time observed no Sabbath-day ; for as at first I had no sense of religion upon my mind, I had after some time omitted to distinguish the weeks, by making a longer notch than ordinary for the Sabbath-day, and so did not really know what any of the days were ; but now, having cast up the days as above, I found I had been there a year ; so I divided it into weeks, and set apart every seventh day for a Sabbath ; though I found at the end of my account I had lost a day or two in my reckoning.

A little after this my ink began to fail me, and so I contented myself to use it more sparingly, and to write down only the most remarkable events of my life, without continuing a daily memorandum of other things.

The rainy season, and the dry season, began now to appear regular to me, and I learned to divide them so as to provide for them accordingly. But I bought all my experience before I had it ; and this I am going to relate, was one of the most discouraging experiments that I made at all. I have mentioned, that I had saved the few ears of barley and rice which I had so surprisingly found spring up, as I thought, of themselves, and believe there were about thirty stalks of rice, and about twenty of barley ; and now I thought it a proper time to sow it after the rains, the sun being in its southern position going from me.

Accordingly I dug up a piece of ground, as well as I could, with my wooden spade, and dividing it into two parts, I sowed my grain ; but as I was sowing, it casually occurred to my thought, that I would not sow it all at first, because I did not know when was the proper time for it ; so I sowed about two-thirds of the seeds, leaving about a handful of each. It was a great comfort to me afterwards that I did so, for not one grain of that I sowed this time came to anything ; for the dry months following, the earth having had no rain after the seed was sown, it had no moisture to assist its growth, and never came up at all, till the wet season had come again, and then it grew as if it had been newly sown.

Finding my first seed did not grow, which I easily imagined was by the drought, I sought for a moister piece of ground to make another trial in ; and I dug up a piece of ground near my new hower, and sowed the rest of my seed in February, a little before the vernal

equinox ; and this, having the rainy months of March and April to water it, sprung up very pleasantly, and yielded a very good crop ; but having part of the seed left only, and not daring to sow all that I had yet, I had but a small quantity at last, my whole crop not amounting to above half a peck of each kind.

But by this experience I was made master of my business, and knew exactly when the proper season was to sow ; and that I might expect two seed-times, and two harvests every year.

While this corn was growing, I made a little discovery, which was of use to me afterwards. As soon as the rains were over, and the weather began to settle, which was about the month of November, I made a visit up the country to my bower, where though I had not been some months, yet I found all things just as I left them. The circle or double hedge that I had made, was not only firm and entire, but the stakes which I had cut off of some trees that grew thereabouts, were all shot out, and grown with long branches, as much as a willow tree usually shoots the first year after lopping its head. I could not tell what tree to call it that these stakes were cut from. I was surprised, and yet very well pleased, to see the young trees grow ; and I pruned them, and led them to grow as much alike as I could, and it is scarce credible, how beautiful a figure they grew into in three years ; so that though the hedge made a circle of about twenty-five yards in diameter, yet the trees, for such I might now call them, soon covered it ; and it was a complete shade, sufficient to lodge under all the dry season.

This made me resolve to cut some more stakes, and make me a hedge like this in a semicircle round my wall, I mean that of my first dwelling, which I did ; and placing the trees or stakes in a double row, at about eight yards' distance from my first fence, they grew presently, and were at first a fine cover to my habitation, and afterwards served for a defence also, as I shall observe in its order.

I found now, that the seasons of the year might generally be divided, not into summer and winter, as in Europe, but into the rainy seasons and the dry seasons, which were generally thus :

Half February, March, half April—Rainy, the sun being then on or near the equinox.

Half April, May, June, July, half August—Dry, the sun being then to the north of the line.

Half August, September, half October—Rainy, the sun then being come back.

Half October, November, December, January, half February—Dry, the sun being then to the south of the line.

The rainy season sometimes held longer or shorter, as the winds happened to blow ; but this was the general observation I made. After I had found by experience, the ill consequences of being abroad in the rain, I took care to furnish myself with provisions beforehand, that I might not be obliged to go out ; and I sat within doors as much as possible during the wet months.

In this time I found much employment, (and very suitable also to the time), for I found great occasion for many things which I had no way to furnish myself with, but by hard labour and constant application. Particularly, I tried many ways to make myself a basket ; but all the twigs I could get for the purpose proved so brittle, that they would do nothing. It proved of excellent advantage to me now, that when I was a boy, I used to take great delight in standing at a basket-maker's in the town where my father lived, to see them make their wicker-ware ; and being, as boys usually are, very officious to help, and a great observer of the manner how they worked those things, and sometimes lending a hand, I had by this means so full knowledge of the methods of it, that I wanted nothing but the materials ; when it came into my mind, that the twigs of that tree from whence I cut my stakes that grew, might possibly be as tough as the sallows and willows, and osiers, in England, and I resolved to try.

Accordingly the next day I went to my country house, as I called it, and cutting some of the smaller twigs, I found them to my purpose as



much as I could desire ; whereupon I came the next time prepared with a hatchet to cut down a quantity which I soon found, for there

was a great plenty of them. These I set up to dry within my circle or hedges ; and when they were fit for use, I carried them to my cave ; and here, during the next season I employed myself in making (as well as I could) a great many baskets, both to carry earth, or to carry or lay up anything, as I had occasion ; and though I did not finish them very handsomely, yet I made them sufficiently serviceable for my purpose ; and thus afterwards I took care never to be without them ; and as my wicker-ware decayed, I made more ; especially I made strong deep baskets to place my corn in, instead of sacks, when I should come to have any quantity of it.

Having mastered this difficulty, and employed a world of time about it, I bestirred myself to see, if possible, how to supply two wants. I had no vessels to hold anything that was liquid, except two runlets, which were almost full of rum, and some glass bottles, some of the common size, and others, which were case-bottles, square, for the holding of waters, spirits, &c. I had not so much as a pot to boil anything in, except a great kettle which I saved out of the ship, and which was too big for such uses as I desired for it, namely, to make broth, and stew a bit of meat by itself. The second thing I would fain have had, was a tobacco-pipe, but it was impossible for me to make one ; however, I found a contrivance for that too at last.

I employed myself in planting my second rows of stakes or piles, and in this wicker work, all the summer, or dry season ; when another business took me up more time than it could be imagined I could spare.

I mentioned before, that I had a great mind to see the whole island, and that I had travelled up the brook, and so on to where I built my bower, and where I had an opening quite to the sea, on the other side of the island. I now resolved to travel quite across to the sea-shore on that side ; so taking my gun, and hatchet, and my dog, and a larger quantity of powder and shot than usual, with two biscuit-cakes, and a great bunch of raisins in my pouch, for my store, I began my journey. When I had passed the vale where my bower stood, as above, I came within view of the sea, to the west ; and it being a very clear day, I fairly descried land, whether an island or continent I could not tell ; but it lay very high, extending from the West to the W.S.W. at a very great distance ; by my guess it could not be less than fifteen or twenty leagues off.

I could not tell what part of the world this might be, otherwise than that I knew it must be part of America ; and, as I concluded by all my observations, must be near the Spanish dominions, and perhaps was all inhabited by savages, where if I should have landed, I had been

in a worse condition than I was now ; and therefore I acquiesced in the dispositions of Providence, which I began now to own, and to believe, ordered everything for the best ; I say I quieted my mind with this, and left afflicting myself with fruitless wishes of being there.

Besides, after some pause upon this affair, I considered, that if this land was the Spanish coast, I should certainly, one time or other, see some vessel pass or re-pass one way or other ; but if not, then it was the savage coast between the Spanish country and Brazil, which is inhabited by the worst of savages ; for they are cannibals, or men-eaters, and fail not to murder and devour all the human bodies that fall into their hands.

With these considerations I walked very leisurely forward. I found that side of the island where I now was, much pleasanter than mine, the open or savanna fields sweet, adorned with flowers and grass, and full of very fine woods. I saw abundance of parrots, and fain would I have caught one, if possible, to have kept it to be tame, and taught it to speak to me. I did, after some pains taken, catch a young parrot ; for I knocked it down with a stick, and having recovered it, I brought it home, but it was some years before I could make him speak. However, at last I taught him to call me by my name, very familiarly : but the accident that followed, though it be a trifle, will be very diverting in its place.

I was exceedingly diverted with this journey. I found in the low grounds, hares as I thought them to be, and foxes, but they differed greatly from all other kinds I had met with ; nor could I satisfy myself to eat them, though I killed several : but I had no need to be venturous ; for I had no want of food, and of that which was very good too : especially these three sorts, goats, pigeons, and turtle or tortoise ; which, added to my grapes, Leadenhall market could not have furnished a better table than I, in proportion to the company : and though my case was deplorable enough, yet I had great cause for thankfulness, that I was not driven to any extremities for food ; but rather plenty, even to dainties.

I never travelled in this journey above two miles outright in a day, or thereabouts ; but I took so many turns and returns, to see what discoveries I could make, that I came weary enough to the place where I resolved to sit down for all night ; and then either reposed myself in a tree, or surrounded myself with a row of stakes set upright in the ground, either from one tree or another, or so as no wild creature could come at me without waking me.

As soon as I came to the sea-shore, I was surprised to see that I had

taken up my lot on the worst side of the island ; for here indeed the shore was covered with innumerable turtles, whereas on the other side I had found but three in a year and a half. Here was also an infinite number of fowls of many kinds, some of which I had not seen before, and many of them very good meat ; but such as I knew not the names of, except those called penguins.

I could have shot as many as I pleased, but was very sparing of my powder and shot : and therefore had more mind to kill a she-goat, if I could, which I could better feed on : and though there were many more goats here than on the other side of the island, yet it was with much more difficulty that I could come near them ; the country being flat and even, so that they saw me much sooner than when I was on the hills.

I confess this side of the country was much pleasanter than mine, but yet I had not the least inclination to remove ; for as I was fixed in my habitation, it became natural to me ; and I seemed all the while I was here, to be, as it were, upon a journey, and from home. However, I travelled along the shore of the sea towards the east, I suppose about twelve miles : and then setting up a great pole upon the shore for a mark, I concluded I would go home again ; and the next journey I took should be on the other side of the island, east from my dwelling, and so round, till I came to my post again : of which in its place.

I took another way to come back than that I went, thinking I could easily keep all the island so much in my view, that I could not miss finding my first dwelling by viewing the country ; but I found myself mistaken ; for being come about two or three miles, I found myself descended into a very large valley ; but so surrounded with hills, and those hills covered with woods, that I could not see which was my way by any direction but that of the sun ; nor even then, unless I knew very well the position of the sun at that time of the day.

It happened, to my farther misfortune, that the weather proved hazy for three or four days while I was in this valley ; and not being able to see the sun, I wandered about very uncomfortably, and at last was obliged to find out the sea-side, look for my post, and come back the same way I went ; and then by easy journeys I turned homeward, the weather being exceeding hot ; and my gun, ammunition, hatchet, and other things very heavy.

In this journey my dog surprised a young kid, and seized upon it ; and I running to take hold of it, caught it, and saved it alive from the dog. I had a great mind to bring it home, if I could ; for I had often

been musing whether it might not be possible to get a kid or two, and so raise a breed of tame goats, which might supply me when my powder and shot should be spent.

I made a collar for this little creature ; and with a string which I made of some rope-yarn, which I always carried about me, I led him along, though with some difficulty, till I came to my bower, and there I enclosed him, and left him ; for I was very impatient to be at home, from whence I had been absent above a month.

I cannot express what a satisfaction it was to me to come into my old hutch, and lie down in my hammock-bed : this little wandering journey, without a settled place of abode, had been so unpleasant to me, that my own house, as I called it to myself, was a perfect settlement to me, compared to that ; and it rendered everything about me so comfortable, that I resolved that I would never go a great way from it again, while it should be my lot to stay on the island.

I reposed myself here a week, to rest and regale myself after my long journey ; during which, most of the time was taken up in the weighty affair of making a cage for my Poll, who began now to be a mere domestic, and to be mighty well acquainted with me. Then I began to think of the poor kid, which I had pent in within my little circle, and resolved to go and fetch it home, and give it some food : accordingly I went, and found it where I left it ; for indeed it could not get out, but was almost starved for want of food. I went and cut



boughs of trees and branches of such shrubs as I could find, and threw over to it ; and having fed it, I tied it as I did before to lead it

away ; but it was so tame with being hungry, that I had no need to have tied it ; for it followed me like a dog ; and as I continually fed it, the creature became so loving, so gentle, and so fond, that it became from that time one of my domestics also, and would never leave me afterwards.

The rainy season of the autumnal equinox was now come, and I kept the 30th of September in the same solemn manner as before, being the anniversary of my landing on the island, having now been there two years, and no more prospect of being delivered than the first day I came there. I spent the whole day in humble and thankful acknowledgments of the many wonderful mercies which my solitary condition was attended with, and without which it might have been infinitely more miserable. I gave humble and hearty thanks, that God had been pleased to discover to me, even that it was possible I might be more happy in this solitary condition, than I should have been in society, and in all the pleasures of the world : that he could fully make up to me the deficiencies of my solitary state and the want of human society, by his presence, and the communications of his grace to my soul, supporting, comforting, and encouraging me to depend upon his providence here, and hope for his eternal presence hereafter.

Before, as I walked about, either on my hunting, or for viewing the country, the anguish of my soul at my condition would break upon me on a sudden, and my very heart would die within me, to think of the woods, the mountains, the deserts I was in ; and how I was a prisoner, locked up with the eternal bolts and bars of the ocean, in an uninhabited wilderness, without redemption. In the midst of the greatest composesures of my mind, this would break out upon me like a storm, and make me wring my hands, and weep like a child. Sometimes it would take me in the middle of my work, and I would immediately sit down and sigh, and look down upon the ground for an hour or two together ; and this was still worse to me ; for if I could burst out into tears, or vent myself by words, it would go off, and the grief, having exhausted itself, would abate.

But now I began to exercise myself with new thoughts ; I daily read the word of God, and applied all the comforts of it to my present state. One morning, being very sad, I opened the bible upon these words, "I will never, never leave thee, nor forsake thee !" Immediately it occurred, that these words were to me, why else should they be directed in such a manner, just at the moment when I was mourning over my condition, as one forsaken of God and man ? Well then, said I, if God does not forsake me, of what ill consequence can it be, or

what matters it, though the world should all forsake me; seeing on the other hand, if I had all the world, and should lose the favour and blessing of God, there would be no comparison in the loss.

I never opened the bible, or shut it, but my very soul within me blessed God for directing my friend in England, without any order of mine, to pack it up among my goods; and for assisting me afterwards to save it out of the wreck of the ship.

In this disposition of mind, I began my third year; and though I have not given the reader the trouble of so particular an account of my works this year as at the first, yet in general it may be observed, that I was very seldom idle; having regularly divided ~~my~~ time, according to the several daily employments that were before me, such as first, my duty to God, and reading the scriptures, which I constantly set apart some time for, thrice every day. Secondly, the going abroad with my gun for food, which generally took me up three hours every morning when it did not rain. Thirdly, the ordering, curing, preserving, and cooking what I had killed or caught for my supply. These took up great part of the day. Also it is to be considered, that in the middle of the day, the violence of the heat was too great to stir out; so that about four hours in the evening was all the time I could be supposed to work in; with this exception, that sometimes I changed my hours of hunting and working, and went to work in the morning, and abroad with my gun in the afternoon.

To this short time allowed for labour, I desire may be added the exceeding laboriousness of my work; the many hours which, for want of tools, want of help, and want of skill, everything that I did took up out of my time: for example, I was full two-and-forty days making me a board for a long shelf, which I wanted in my cave; whereas two sawyers, with their tools and saw-pit, would have cut six of them out of the same tree in half a day.

My case was this: It was to be a large tree which was to be cut down, because my board was to be a broad one. The tree I was three days a cutting down, and two more cutting off the boughs, and reducing it to a log, or piece of timber. With inexpressible hacking and hewing, I reduced both the sides of it into chips, till it began to be light enough to move; then I turned it, and made one side of it smooth and flat as a board, from end to end: then turning that side downward, cut the other side till I brought the plank to be about three inches thick, and smooth on both sides. Any one may judge the labour of my hands in such a piece of work; but labour and patience carried me through that and many other things.

I was now in the months of November and December, expecting my crop of barley and rice. The ground I had manured or dug up for them was not great ; for, as I observed, my seed of each was not above the quantity of half a peck ; for I had lost one whole crop by sowing in the dry season ; but now my crop promised very well, when on a sudden I found I was in danger of losing it all again by enemies of several sorts, which it was scarce possible to keep from it ; at first, the goats, and wild creatures which I called hares, which, tasting the sweetness of the blade, lay in it night and day, as soon as it came up, and eat it so close, that it could get no time to shoot up into stalks.

This I saw ~~no~~ remedy for, but by making an inclosure about it with a hedge, which I did with a great deal of toil ; and the more, because it required a great deal of speed ; the creatures daily spoiling my corn. However, as my arable land was but small, suited to my crop, I got it totally well fenced in about three weeks' time ; and shooting some of the creatures in the daytime, I set my dog to guard it in the night, tying him up to a stake at the gate, where he would stand and bark all night long : so in a little time the enemies forsook the place, and the corn grew very strong and well, and began to ripen apace.

But as the beasts ruined me before, while my corn was in the blade, so the birds were as like to ruin me now, when it was in the ear ; for going along by the place to see how it throve, I saw my little crop surrounded with fowls of I know not how many sorts, which stood as it were watching till I should be gone. I immediately let fly among them, (for I always had my gun with me). I had no sooner shot, but there arose up a little cloud of fowls, which I had not seen at all, from among the corn itself.

This touched me sensibly ; for I foresaw, that in a few days they would devour all my hopes : that I should be starved, and never be able to raise a crop at all ; and what to do I could not tell ; however, I resolved not to lose my corn, if possible, though I should watch it night and day. In the first place, I went among it to see what damage was already done, and found they had spoiled a good deal of it ; but that, as it was yet too green for them, the loss was not so great, but the remainder was like to be a good crop, if it could be saved.

I staid by it to load my gun, and then coming away, I could easily see the thieves sitting upon all the trees about me, as if they only waited till I was gone away, and the event proved it to be so ; for as I walked off, as if I was gone, I was no sooner out of their sight, but they dropped down one by one into the corn again. I was so provoked, that I could not have patience to stay till more came on,

knowing that every grain that they eat now was, as it might be said, a peck loaf to me in the consequence. But coming up to the hedge, I fired again, and killed three of them. This was what I wished for; so I took them up, and served them, as we serve notorious thieves in England, that is, hanged them in chains, for a terror to others. It is almost impossible to imagine, that this should have such an effect as it had, for the fowls would not only not come at the corn, but in short they forsook all that part of the island, and I could never see a bird near the place as long as my scarecrows hung there. This I was very glad of, you may be sure, and about the latter end of December, which was our second harvest of the year, I reaped my corn.

I was sadly put to it for a scythe or a sickle to cut it down, and all I could do was to make one as well as I could, out of one of the broadswords, or cutlasses, which I saved among the arms out of the ship.



However, as my crop was but small, I had no great difficulty to cut it down; in short, I reaped it my way, for I cut nothing off but the ears, and carried it away in a great basket which I had made, and so rubbed it out with my hands. And at the end of all my harvesting I found, that out of my half-peck of seed, I had near two bushels of rice, and above two bushels and a half of barley, that is to say, by my guess, for I had no measure at that time.

However, this was a great encouragement to me, and I foresaw that in time it would please God to supply me with bread; and yet here I was perplexed again, for I neither knew how to grind or make meal

of my corn, or indeed how to clean it, and part it ; nor, if made into meal, how to make bread of it ; and if how to make it, yet I knew not how to bake it. These things being added to my desire of having a good quantity for store, and to secure a constant supply, I resolved not to taste any of this crop, but to preserve it all for seed against the next season, and in the mean time to employ all my study and hours of working to accomplish this great work of providing myself with corn and bread.

It might be truly said, that now I worked for my bread. It is a little wonderful, and what I believe few people have thought much upon ; namely, the strange multitude of little things necessary in the providing, producing, curing, dressing, making, and finishing, this one article of bread.

First, I had no plough to turn the earth, no spade or shovel to dig it. Well, this I conquered by making a wooden spade, as I observed before, but this did my work in but a wooden manner ; and though it cost me a great many days to make it ; yet for want of iron, it not only wore out the sooner, but made my work the harder, and made it be performed much worse.

However, this I bore with too, and was content to work it out with patience, and bear with the badness of the performance. When the corn was sowed, I had no harrow, but was forced to go over it myself, and drag a great heavy bough of a tree over it, to scratch the earth, as it may be called, rather than rake or harrow it.

When it was growing or grown, I have observed already how many things I wanted, to fence it, secure it, mow or reap it, cure or carry it home, thresh, part it from the chaff, and save it. Then I wanted a mill to grind it, sieves to dress it, yeast and salt to make it into bread, and an oven to bake it in ; and all these things I did without, as shall be observed ; and yet the corn was an inestimable comfort and advantage to me too. But all this, as I said, made everything laborious and tedious to me, but that there was no help for, neither was my time so much loss to me, because I had divided it. A certain part of it was every day appointed to these works, and as I resolved to use none of the corn for bread till I had a greater quantity by me, I had the next six months to apply myself, wholly by labour and invention, to furnish myself with utensils proper for the performing all the operations necessary for the making the corn, when I had it, fit for my use.

But first I was to prepare more land, for I had now seed enough to sow above an acre of ground. Before I did this, I had a week's work at least to make me a spade, which, when it was done, was a very sorry

one indeed, and very heavy, and required double labour to work with it ; however, I went through that, and sowed my seeds in two large flat pieces of ground, as near my house as I could find them to my mind, and fenced them in with a good hedge, the stakes of which were all cut off that wood which I had set before, which I knew would grow ; so that in one year's time I knew I should have a quick or living hedge, that would want but little repair. This work was not so little as to take me up less than three months ; because great part of that time was in the wet season, when I could not go abroad.

Within-door, that is, when it rained, and I could not go out, I found employment on the following occasion, always observing, that all the while I was at work, I diverted myself with talking to my parrot, and teaching him to speak ; and I quickly learnt him to know his own name ; at last, to speak it out pretty loud, Poll ; which was the first word I ever heard spoken in the island by any mouth but my own. This therefore was not my work, but an assistant to my work ; for now, as I said, I had a great employment upon my hands, as follows : I had long studied, by some means or other, to make myself some earthen vessels, which indeed I wanted sorely, but knew not where to come at them : however, considering the heat of the climate, I did not doubt, but if I could find out any such clay, I might botch up some such pot, as might, being dried by the sun, be hard enough, and strong enough, to bear handling, and to hold anything that was dry, and required to be kept so ; and as this was necessary in preparing corn, meal, &c., which was the thing I was upon, I resolved to make some as large as I could, and fit only to stand like jars to hold what should be put into them.

It would make the reader pity me, or rather laugh at me, to tell how many awkward ways I took to raise this paste, what odd misshapen ugly things I made, how many of them fell in, and how many fell out, the clay not being stiff enough to bear its own weight ; how many cracked by the over violent heat of the sun, being set out too hastily ; and how many fell to pieces with only removing, as well before as after they were dried ; and, in a word, how, after having laboured hard to find the clay, to dig it, to temper it, to bring it home, and work it, I could not make above two large earthen ugly things, I cannot call them jars, in about two months' labour.

However, as the sun baked these two very dry and hard, I lifted them very gently up, and set them down again in two greater wicker baskets, which I had made on purpose for them, that they might not break, and, as between the pot and the basket there was a little room to spare,

I stuffed it full of the rice and barley straw; and these two pots being to stand always dry, I thought it would hold my dry corn, and perhaps the meal when the corn was bruised.

Though I miscarried so much in my design for large pots, yet I made several smaller things with better success, such as little round pots, flat dishes, pitchers, and pipkins, and anything my hand turned to, and the heat of the sun baked them strangely hard.

But all this would not answer my end, which was to get an earthen pot to hold what was liquid, and bear the fire, which none of these could do. It happened after some time, making a pretty large fire for cooking my meat, when I went to put it out after I had done with it, I found a broken piece of one of my earthenware vessels in the fire, burnt as hard as a stone, and red as a tile. I was agreeably surprised to see it, and said to myself, that certainly they might be made to burn whole, if they would burn broken.

This set me to study how to order my fire, so as to make it burn me some pots. I had no notion of a kiln, such as the potters burn in, or of glazing them with lead, though I had some lead to do it with; but I placed three large pipkins, and two or three pots, in a pile one upon another, and placed my firewood all round it, with a great heap of embers under them; I plied the fire with fresh fuel round the outside, and upon the top, till I saw the pots in the inside red-hot quite through, and observed that they did not crack at all; when I saw them clear red, I let them stand in that heat about five or six hours, till I found one of them though it did not crack, did melt or run. For the sand which was mixed with the clay, melted by the violence of the heat, and would have run into glass, if I had gone on; so I slacked my fire gradually, till the pots began to abate of the red colour, and watching them all night that I might not let the fire abate too fast, in the morning I had three very good, I will not say handsome pipkins, and two other earthen pots, as hard burnt as could be desired, and one of them perfectly glazed with the running of the sand.

After this experiment I need not say that I wanted no sort of earthen-ware for my use, but I must needs say, as to the shapes of them, they were very indifferent, as any one may suppose, when I had no way of making them, but as the children make dirt-pies, or as a woman would make pies that never learnt to raise paste.

No joy at a thing of so mean a nature was ever equal to mine, when I found I had made an earthen pot that would bear the fire; and I had hardly patience to stay till they were cold, before I set one upon the fire again, with some water in it, to boil me some meat, which it did

admirably well ; and with a piece of a kid I made some very good broth, though I wanted oatmeal, and several other ingredients requisite to make it so good as I would have had it.

My next concern was to get me a stone mortar to stamp or beat some corn in ; for as to the mill, there was no thought of arriving to that perfection of art with one pair of hands. To supply this want, I was at a great loss ; for of all trades in the world I was as perfectly unqualified for a stone-cutter, as for any whatever ; neither had I any tools to go about it with. I spent many a day to find out a great stone big enough to cut hollow, and make fit for a mortar, and could find none at all, except what was in the solid rock, and which I had no way to dig or cut out ; nor indeed were the rocks in the island of hardness sufficient, but were all of a sandy crumbling stone, which would neither bear the weight of a heavy pestle, nor would break the corn without filling it with sand ; so, after a great deal of time lost in searching for a stone, I gave it over, and resolved to look out for a great block of hard wood, which I found indeed much easier ; and getting one as big as I had strength to stir, I rounded it, and formed it on the outside with my axe and hatchet ; and then, with the help of fire and infinite labour, made a hollow place in it, as the Indians in Brasil make their canoes. After this, I made a great heavy pestle or beater, of the wood called the iron-wood ; and this I prepared and laid by against I had my next crop of corn, when I proposed to myself to grind, or rather pound, my corn or meal to make my bread.

My next difficulty was to make a sieve, to dress my meal, and part it from the bran and the husk, without which I did not see it possible I could have any bread. This was a most difficult thing, so much as but to think on ; for to be sure, I had nothing like the necessary things to make it with ; I mean fine thin canvass, or stuff, to sift the meal through. And here I was at a full stop for many months ; nor did I really know what to do : linen I had none left but what was mere rags ; I had goat's hair, but neither knew I how to weave or spin it ; and had I known how, here were no tools to work it with. All the remedy that I found for this, was, that at last I did remember I had among the seamen's clothes, which were saved out of the ship, some neckcloths of calico or muslin ; and with some pieces of these I made three small sieves, but proper enough for the work : and thus I made shift for some years ; how I did afterwards, I shall shew in its place.

The baking part was the next thing to be considered, and how I should make bread when I came to have corn ; for, first, I had no yeast. As to that part, as there was no supplying the want, so I did

not concern myself much about it. But for an oven, I was indeed in great pain. At length I found out an experiment for that also, which was this : I made some earthen vessels very broad, but not deep ; that is to say, about two feet diameter, and not above nine inches deep ; these I burnt in the fire, as I had done the other, and laid them by : and when I wanted to bake, I made a great fire upon the hearth, which I had paved with some square tiles of my own making and burning also ; but I should not call them square. When the firewood was burnt pretty much into embers or live coals, I drew them forward upon this hearth, so as to cover it all over ; and there I let them lie, till the hearth was very hot : then sweeping away all the embers, I set down my loaf, or loaves ; and wheeling down the earthen pot upon them, drew the embers all round the outside of the pot, to keep in, and add to the heat : and thus, as well as in the best oven in the world, I baked my barley-loaves, and became in a little time a pastry-cook into the bargain, for I made myself several cakes of the rice, and puddings.

It need not be wondered at, if all these things took me up most part of the third year of my abode here ; for it is to be observed, that in the intervals of these things, I had my new harvest and husbandry to manage : for I reaped my corn in its season, and carried it home as well as I could, and laid it up in the ear, in my large baskets, till I had time to rub it out ; for I had no floor to thrash it on, or instrument to thrash it with.

And now indeed, my stock of corn increasing, I really wanted to build my barns bigger : I wanted a place to lay it up in ; for the increase of the corn now yielded me so much, that I had of the barley about twenty bushels, and of the rice as much, or more ; insomuch that I now resolved to begin to use it freely, for my bread had been quite gone a great while : also I resolved to see what quantity would be sufficient for me a whole year, and to sow but once a year.

Upon the whole, I found that the forty bushels of barley and rice were much more than I could consume in a year ; so I resolved to sow just the same quantity every year that I sowed the last, in hopes that such a quantity would fully provide me with bread.

All the while these things were doing, you may be sure my thoughts ran many times upon the prospect of land which I had seen from the other side of the island ; and I was not without secret wishes that I was on shore there, fancying that seeing the main land, and an inhabited country, I might find some way or other to convey myself farther, and perhaps at last find some means of escape.

But all this while I made no allowance for the dangers of such a

condition, and how I might fall into the hands of savages, and perhaps such as I might have reason to think far worse than the lions and tigers of Africa. That if I once came into their power, I should run a hazard more than a thousand to one of being killed, and perhaps of being eaten ; for I had heard that the people of the Caribbean coasts were cannibals, or men-eaters ; and I knew by the latitude that I could not be far off from that shore. All these things, I say, which I ought to have considered well of, and I did cast up in my thoughts afterwards, yet took none of my apprehensions at first ; and my head ran mightily upon the thoughts of getting over to that shore.

Now I wished for my boy Xury, and the long boat with the shoulder-of-mutton sail, with which I sailed above a thousand miles on the coast of Africa ; but this was in vain. Then I thought I would go and look on our ship's boat, which, as I have said, was blown up upon the shore a great way in the storm, when we were first cast away. She lay almost where she did at first, but not quite ; and was turned, by the force of the waves, and the winds, almost bottom upwards, against the high ridge of a beachy rough sand, but no water about her as before.

Had I had hands to have refitted her, and have launched her into the water, the boat would have done well enough, and I might have gone back into the Brasils with her easily enough ; but I might have easily foreseen, that I could no more turn her, and set her upright upon her bottom, than I could remove the island. However I went to the wood, and cut levers and rollers, and brought them to the boat, resolving to try what I could do ; suggesting to myself, that if I could but turn



her down, I might easily repair the damage she had received, and she would be a very good boat, and I might go to sea in her very easily.

I spared no pains indeed in this piece of fruitless toil, and spent, I think, three or four weeks about it. At last, finding it impossible to heave it up with my little strength, I fell to digging away the sand to undermine it, and so to make it fall down, setting pieces of wood to thrust and guide it right in the fall.

But when I had done this, I was unable to stir it up again, or to get under it, much less to move it forwards towards the water ; so I was forced to give it over : and yet, though I gave over hopes of the boat, my desire to venture over for the main increased, rather than decreased, as the means for it seemed impossible.

This at length set me upon thinking whether it was not possible to make myself a canoe or periagua, such as the natives of those climates make, even without tools, or as I might say, without hands, namely of the trunk of a great tree. This I not only thought possible, but easy ; and pleased myself extremely with my thoughts of making it, and with my having much more convenience for it than any of the Negroes or Indians ; but not at all considering the particular inconveniences which I lay under more than the Indians did, namely want of hands to move it into the water, when it was made ; a difficulty much harder for me to surmount than all the consequences of want of tools could be to them. But my thoughts were so intent upon my voyage over the sea in it, that I never once considered how I should get it off the land ; and it was really in its own nature more easy for me to guide it over forty-five miles of sea, than about forty-five fathom of land, where it lay, to set it afloat in the water.

I went to work upon this boat the most like a fool that ever man did, who had any of his senses awake. I pleased myself with the design, without determining whether I was ever able to undertake it ; not but that the difficulty of launching my boat came often into my head ; but I put a stop to my own inquiries into it by this foolish answer which I gave myself ; Let me first make it, I will warrant I will find some way or other to get it along when it is done.

This was a most preposterous method ; but the eagerness of my fancy prevailed, and to work I went, and felled a cedar tree. I question much whether Solomon ever had such a one for the building the temple of Jerusalem. It was five feet ten inches diameter at the lower part next the stump, and four feet eleven inches diameter at the end of twenty-two feet, after which it lessened for a while and then parted into branches. It was not without infinite labour that I felled this tree ; I was twenty days hacking and hewing at it at the bottom ; I was fourteen more getting the branches and limbs and the vast

spreading head of it cut off, which I hacked and hewed through with my axe and hatchet, with inexpressible labour ; after this it cost me a month to shape it and dub it to a proportion, and to something like the bottom of a boat, that it might swim upright as it ought. It cost me near three months more to clear the inside, and work it out so as to make an exact boat of it ; this I did indeed without fire, by mere mallet and chisel, and by the dint of hard labour ; till I had brought it to be a very handsome periagua, and big enough to have carried six-and-twenty men, and consequently big enough to have carried me and all my cargo.

When I had gone through this work, I was extremely delighted with it : the boat was really much bigger than I ever saw a canoe or periagua, that was made of one tree, in my life. Many a weary stroke it had cost, you may be sure, for there remained nothing but to get it into the water ; and had I gotten it into the water, I make no question but I should have begun the maddest voyage, and the most unlikely to be performed, that ever was undertaken.

But all my devices to get it into the water failed me, though they cost infinite labour too ; it lay about one hundred yards from the water, and not more ; but the first inconvenience was, it was up hill towards the creek. Well, to take away this discouragement, I resolved to dig into the surface of the earth, and so make a declivity ; this I began, and it cost me a prodigious deal of pains ; but who grudge pains that have their deliverance in view ? But when this was worked through, and this difficulty managed, it was still much at one ; for I could no more stir the canoe than I could the other boat.

Then I measured the distance of ground, and resolved to cut a dock, or canal, to bring the water up to the canoe, seeing I could not bring the canoe down to the water. Well, I began this work, and when I began to enter into it, and calculated how deep it was to be dug, how broad, how the stuff to be thrown out, I found that by the number of hands I had, being none but my own, it must have been ten or twelve years before I should have gone through with it ; for the shore lay high, so that at the upper end it must have been at least twenty feet deep ; so at length, though with great reluctancy, I gave this attempt over also.

This grieved me heartily ; and now I saw, though too late, the folly of beginning a work before we count the cost, and before we judge rightly of our own strength to go through with it.

In the middle of this work I finished my fourth year in this place, and kept my anniversary with the same devotion, and with as much comfort, as ever before ; for by a constant study, and serious application

of the word of God, and by the assistance of his grace, I gained a different knowledge from what I had before. I entertained different notions of things ; I looked now upon the world as a thing remote ; which I had nothing to do with, no expectation from, and indeed no desires about : in a word, I had nothing indeed to do with it, nor was ever like to have ; so I thought it looked, as we may perhaps look upon it hereafter, namely as a place I had lived in, but was come out of it. And well might I say, as Father Abraham to Dives, "Between me and thee there is a great gulph fixed."

In the first place, I was removed from all the wickedness of the world here : I had neither the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life : I had nothing to covet, for I had all I was now capable of enjoying. I was lord of the manor ; or, if I pleased, I might call myself king or emperor over the whole country which I had possession of ; there were no rivals : I had no competitor, none to dispute sovereignty or command with me. I might have raised ship-loadings of corn, but I had no use for it ; so I let as little grow as I thought enough for my occasion : I had tortoises, or turtles enough ; but now and then one was as much as I could put to any use : I had timber enough to have built a fleet of ships ; I had grapes enough to have made wine, or to have cured into raisins, to have loaded that fleet when they had been built.

I had, as I hinted before, a parcel of money, as well gold as silver, about thirty-six pound sterling ; alas ! there the nasty, sorry, useless stuff lay ; I had no manner of business for it, and I often thought with myself, that I would have given a handful of it for a gross of tobacco-pipes, or for a hand-mill to grind my corn ; nay, I would have given it all for six-penny worth of turnip and carrot seed out of England, or for a handful of peas and beans, and a bottle of ink.

I had now been here so long, that many things which I brought on shore for my help, were either quite gone, or very much wasted, and near spent. My ink, as I observed, had been gone for some time, all but a very little, which I eked out with water a little and a little, till it was so pale it scarce left any appearance of black upon the paper. As long as it lasted, I made use of it to minute down the days of the month on which any remarkable thing happened to me, and first, by casting up times past, I remembered that there was a strange concurrence of days, in the various providences which befel me, and which, if I had been superstitiously inclined to observe days as fatal or fortunate, I might have had reason to have looked upon with a great deal of curiosity.

First, I had observed, that the same day that I broke away from my father and my friends, and ran away to Hull in order to go to sea, the same day afterwards I was taken by the Sallee man of war, and made a slave.

The same day of the year that I escaped out of the wreck of that ship in Yarmouth Roads, that same day of the year afterwards I made my escape from Sallee in the boat.

The same day of the year I was born on, namely, the 30th of September, the same day I had my life so miraculously saved 26 years after, when I was cast on shore in this island ; so that my wicked life, and solitary life, both began on a day.

The next thing to my ink being wasted, was that of my bread, I mean the biscuit which I brought out of the ship. This I had husbanded to the last degree, allowing myself but one cake of bread a day for above a year, and yet I was quite without bread for near a year before I got any corn of my own ; and great reason I had to be thankful that I had any at all, the getting it being, as has been already observed, next to miraculous.

My clothes too began to decay mightily : as to linen, I had had none a good while, except some chequered shirts which I found in the chests of the other seamen, and which I carefully preserved, because many times I could bear no other clothes on but a shirt ; and it was a very great help to me, that I had among all the men's clothes of the ship almost three dozen of shirts. There were also several thick watch-coats of the seamen's, which were left indeed, but they were too hot to wear ; and though it is true, that the weather was so violent hot that there was no need of clothes, yet I could not go quite naked ; no, though I had been inclined to it, which I was not ; nor could I abide the thoughts of it, though I was all alone.

One reason why I could not go quite naked, was, I could not bear the heat of the sun so well when quite naked, as with some clothes on ; nay, the very heat frequently blistered my skin ; whereas, with a shirt on, the air itself made some motion, and whistling under the shirt, was twofold cooler than without it. No more could I ever bring myself to go out in the heat of the sun without a cap or hat ; the heat of the sun beating with such violence as it does in that place, would give me the headach presently, by darting so directly on my head, without a cap or hat on, so that I could not bear it ; whereas if I put on my hat, it would presently go away.

Upon these views I began to consider about putting the few rags I had, which I called clothes, into some order. I had worn out all the

waistcoats I had, and my business was now to try if I could not make jackets out of the great watch-coats which I had by me, and with such other materials as I had ; so I set to work a-tailoring, or rather indeed a-botching ; for I made most piteous work of it. However, I made shift to make two or three waistcoats, which I hoped would serve me a great while ; as for breeches or drawers, I made but a very sorry shift indeed, till afterwards.

I have mentioned that I saved the skins of all the creatures that I killed, I mean four-footed ones ; and I had hung them up stretched out with sticks in the sun, by which means some of them were so dry and hard, that they were fit for little ; but others, it seems, were very useful. The first thing I made of these was a great cap for my head, with the hair on the outside to shoot off the rain, and this I performed so well, that after this I made a suit of clothes wholly of those skins ; that is to say, a waistcoat, and breeches open at the knees, and both loose ; for they were rather wanted to keep me cool, than to keep me warm. I must not omit to acknowledge, that they were wretchedly made ; for if I was a bad carpenter, I was a worse tailor ; however, they were such as I made very good shift with ; and when I was abroad, if it happened to rain, the hair of the waistcoat and cap being outmost, I was kept very dry.

After this I spent a deal of time and pains to make me an umbrella. I was indeed in great want of one, and had a great mind to make one. I had seen them made in the Brasils, where they are very useful in the great heats which are there ; and I felt the heats every jot as great here, and greater too, being nearer the equinox ; besides, as I was obliged to be much abroad, it was a most useful thing to me, as well for the rains as the heats. I took a world of pains at it, and was a great while before I could make anything likely to hold ; nay, after I thought I had hit the way, I spoiled two or three before I made one to my mind ; but at last I made one that answered indifferently well ; the main difficulty I found was to make it to let down. I could make it to spread ; but if it did not let down too, and draw in, it would not be portable for me any way, but just over my head, which would not do. However, at last, as I said, I made one to answer. I covered it with skins, the hair upwards, so that it cast off the rain like a pent-house, and kept off the sun so effectually, that I could walk out in the hottest of the weather, with greater advantage than I could before in the coolest ; and when I had no need of it, I could close it, and carry it under my arm.

Thus I lived mighty comfortably, my mind being entirely composed

by resigning to the will of God, and throwing myself wholly upon the disposal of his Providence.

I cannot say, that after this, for five years, any extraordinary thing happened to me ; but I lived on in the same course, in the same posture and place just as before ; the chief thing I was employed in, besides my yearly labour of planting my barley and rice, and curing my raisins, of both which I always kept up just enough to have sufficient stock of the year's provisions beforehand ; I say, besides this yearly labour, and my daily labour of going out with my gun, I had one labour to make me a canoe, which at last I finished : so that by digging a canal to it six feet wide, and four feet deep, I brought it into the creek, almost half a mile.



However, though my little periagua was finished, yet the size of it was not at all answerable to the design which I had in view, when I made the first ; I mean of venturing over to the terra firma, where it was above forty miles broad ; accordingly, the smallness of my boat, assisted to put an end to that design, and now I thought no more of it. But as I had a boat, my next design was to make a tour round the island ; for as I had been on the other side, in one place, crossing, as I have already described it, over the land, so the discoveries I made in that journey, made me very eager to see other parts of the coast ; and now I had a boat, I thought of nothing but sailing round the island.

For this purpose, and that I might do everything with discretion and consideration, I fitted up a little mast to my boat, and made a sail

to it out of some of the pieces of the ship's sails, which lay in store, and of which I had a great store by me.

Having fitted my mast and sail, and tried the boat, I found she would sail very well. Then I made little lockers and boxes at each end of my boat, to put provisions, necessaries, and ammunition, &c. into, to be kept dry, either from rain, or the spray of the sea ; and a little long hollow place I cut in the inside of the boat, where I could lay my gun, making a flap to hang down over it to keep it dry.

I fixed my umbrella also in a step at the stern, like a mast, to stand over my head, and keep the heat of the sun off me, like an awning ; and thus I every now and then took a little voyage upon the sea, but never went far out, nor far from the little creek. But at last, being eager to view the circumference of my little kingdom, I resolved upon my tour, and accordingly I victualled my ship for the voyage ; putting in two dozen of my loaves (cakes I should rather call them) of barley-bread ; an earthen pot full of parched rice, a food I ate a great deal of ; a little bottle of rum, half a goat, and powder with shot for killing more, and two large watch-coats, of those which, as I mentioned before, I had saved out of the seamen's chests ; these I took, one to lie upon, and the other to cover me in the night.

It was the sixth of November, in the sixth year of my reign, or my captivity, which you please, that I set out on this voyage, and I found it much longer than I expected : for though the island itself was not very large, yet when I came to the east side of it, I found a great ledge of rocks lie out about two leagues into the sea, some above water, some under it ; and beyond this a shoal of sand, lying dry half a league more ; so that I was obliged to go a great way out to sea to double that point.

When I first discovered them, I was going to give over my enterprise, and come back again, not knowing how far it might oblige me to go out to sea, and above all, doubting how I should get back again ; so I came to an anchor, for I had made me a kind of an anchor, with a piece of broken grappling which I got out of the ship.

Having secured my boat, I took my gun, and went on shore, climbing up a hill, which seemed to overlook that point, where I saw the full extent of it, and resolved to venture.

In my viewing the sea from that hill where I stood, I perceived a strong, and indeed, a most furious current, which ran to the east, and even came close to the point ; and I took the more notice of it, because I saw there might be some danger, that when I came into it, I might be carried out to sea by the strength of it, and not be able to make the

island again. And indeed, had I not gotten first upon this hill, I believe it would have been so ; for there was the same current on the other side of the island, only that it set it off at a farther distance ; and I saw there was a strong eddy under the shore ; so I had nothing to do but to get out of the first current, and I should presently be in an eddy.

I lay here, however, two days ; because the wind blowing pretty fresh (E. at S.E. and that being just contrary to the said current) made a great breach of the sea upon the point ; so that it was not safe for me to keep too close to the shore for the breach, nor to go too far off because of the stream.

The third day in the morning, the wind having abated over-night, the sea was calm, and I ventured ; but I am a warning-piece again to all rash and ignorant pilots ; for no sooner was I come to the point, when I was not my boat's length from the shore, but I found myself in a great depth of water, and a current like the sluice of a mill. It carried my boat along with it with such violence, that all I could do could not keep her so much as on the edge of it : but I found it hurried me farther and farther out from the eddy, which was on the left hand. There was no wind stirring to help me, and all that I could do with my paddles signified nothing. And now I began to give myself over for lost : for, as the current was on both sides the island, I knew in a few leagues' distance they must join again, and then I was irrecoverably gone ; nor did I see any possibility of avoiding it : so that I had no prospect before me but of perishing ; not by the sea, for that was calm enough, but of starving for hunger. I had indeed found a tortoise on the shore, as big almost as I could lift, and had tossed it into the boat ; and I had a great jar of fresh water, that is to say, one of my earthen pots. But what was all this to being driven into the vast ocean, where, to be sure, there was no shore, no main land or island, for a thousand leagues at least !

And now I saw how easy it was for the providence of God to make the most miserable condition that mankind could be in *worse*. Now I looked back upon my desolate solitary island, as the most pleasant place in the world, and that all the happiness my heart could wish for, was to be there again. I stretched out my hands to it with eager wishes. O happy desert, said I, I shall never see thee more ! O miserable creature ! said I, whither am I going ? Then I reproached myself with my unthankful temper, and how I had repined at my solitary condition. And now what would I give to be on shore there again ! Thus we never see the true state of our condition, till it is illustrated to us by its contraries ; nor know how to value what we enjoy, but by the want of it. It is

scarce possible to imagine the consternation I was now in, being driven from my beloved island (for so it appeared to me now to be) into the wide ocean, almost two leagues, and in the utmost despair of ever recovering it again. However, I worked hard, till indeed my strength was almost exhausted; and kept my boat as much to the northward, that is, towards the side of the current which the eddy lay on, as possibly I could; when about noon, as the sun passed the meridian, I thought I felt a little breeze of wind in my face, springing up from the S. S. E. This cheered my heart a little, and especially when in about half an hour more, it blew a pretty small gentle gale. By this time I was gotten at a frightful distance from the island; and, had the least cloud or hazy weather intervened, I had been undone another way too; for I had no compass on board, and should never have known how to have steered towards the island, if I had but once lost sight of it. But the weather continuing clear, I applied myself to get up my mast again, and spread my sail, standing away to the north as much as possible, to get out of the current.

Just as I had set my mast and sail, and the boat began to stretch away, I saw even by the clearness of the water, some alteration of the current was near; for where the current was so strong, the water was foul. But perceiving the water clear, I found the current abate, and presently I found to the east, at about half a mile, a breach of the sea upon some rocks. These rocks I found caused the current to part again; and as the main stress of it ran away more southerly, leaving the rocks to the north-east, so the other returned by the repulse of the rock, and made a strong eddy, which ran back again to the north-west with a very sharp stream.

They who know what it is to have a reprieve brought to them upon the ladder, or to be rescued from thieves just going to murder them, or who have been in such like extremities, may guess what my present surprise of joy was, and how gladly I put my boat into the stream of this eddy. And the wind also freshening, how gladly I spread my sail to it, running cheerfully before the wind, and with a strong tide or eddy under foot.

This eddy carried me about a league in my way back again directly towards the island, but about two leagues more towards the northward than the current lay, which carried me away at first; so that when I came near the island, I found myself open to the northern shore of it, that is to say, the other end of the island, opposite to that which I went out from.

When I had made something more than a league of way by the help

of this current or eddy, I found it was spent, and served me no farther. However, I found, that being between the two great currents, namely that on the south side which had hurried me away, and that on the north, which lay about two leagues on the other side ; I say, between these two, in the west of the island, I found the water at least still, and running no way ; and having still a breeze of wind fair for me, I kept on steering directly for the island, though not making such fresh way as I did before.



About four o'clock in the evening, being then within about a league of the island, I stretched across this eddy, slanting north-west, and in about an hour came within about a mile of the shore : it being smooth water, I soon got to land.

When I was on shore, I fell on my knees, and gave God thanks for my deliverance, resolving to lay aside all thoughts of my deliverance by my boat ; and refreshing myself with such things as I had, I brought my boat close to the shore, in a little cove that I had espied under some trees, and laid me down to sleep, being quite spent with the labour and fatigue of the voyage.

I was now at a great loss which way to get home with my boat. I had run so much hazard, and knew too much the case, to think of attempting it by the way I went out ; and what might be at the other side (I mean the west side) I knew not, nor had I any mind to run any more ventures ; so I only resolved in the morning to make my way westward along the shore, and to see if there was no creek where I



CRUSOE'S PARROT WAKES HIM

talking to me, Poor Robin Crusoe, and how did I come here? and where had I been? just as if he had been overjoyed to see me again; and so I carried him home along with me.

I had enough of rambling to sea for some time, and enough to do for many days to sit still, and reflect upon the danger I had been in. I would have been very glad to have had my boat again on my side of the island, but I knew not how it was practicable to get it about. As to the east side of the island, which I had gone round, I knew well enough there was no venturing that way; my very heart would shrink, and my very blood run chill, but to think of it; and as to the other side of the island, I did not know how it might be there; but supposing the current ran with the same force against the shore at the east, as it passed by it on the other, I might run the same risk of being driven down the stream, and carried by the island, as I had been before of being carried away from it: so with these thoughts I contented myself to be without any boat, though it had been the product of so many months' labour to make it, and of so many more to get it into the sea.

In this government of my temper I remained near a year, lived a very sedate retired life, as you may well suppose; and my thoughts being very much composed, as to my condition, and fully comforted in resigning myself to the dispensations of Providence, I thought I lived really very happily in all things except that of society.

I improved myself, in this time, in all the mechanic exercises which my necessities put me upon applying myself to; and I believe could, upon occasion, have made a very good carpenter, especially considering how few tools I had.

Besides this, I arrived at an unexpected perfection in my earthen-ware, and contrived well enough to make them with a wheel, which I found infinitely easier and better, because I made things round and shapeable, which before were filthy things indeed to look on. But I think I never was more vain of my own performance, or more joyful for anything I found out, than for my being able to make a tobacco-pipe; and though it was a very ugly, clumsy thing when it was done, and only burnt red like other earthen-ware, yet as it was hard and firm, and would draw the smoke, I was exceedingly comforted with it; for I had been always used to smoke, and there were pipes in the ship, but I forgot them at first, not knowing there was tobacco in the island; and afterwards when I searched the ship again, I could not come at any pipes at all.

In my wicker-ware I also improved much, and made abundance of necessary baskets, as well as my invention shewed me, though not very

handsome, yet convenient for my laying things up in, or fetching things home in. For example, if I killed a goat abroad, I could hang it up in a tree, flay it, and dress it, and cut it in pieces, and bring it home in a basket ; and the like by a turtle : I could cut it up, take out the eggs, and a piece or two of the flesh, which was enough for me, and bring them home in a basket, and leave the rest behind me : also large deep baskets were my receivers for my corn, which I always rubbed out as soon as it was dry, and cured ; and kept it in great baskets instead of a granary.

I began now to perceive my powder abated considerably ; and this was a want which it was impossible for me to supply : then I began seriously to consider what I must do when I should have no more powder ; that is to say, how should I do to kill any goats. I had, as I observed, in the third year of my being here, kept a young kid, and bred her tame. I was in hopes of getting a he-kid, but I could not by any means bring it to pass, till my kid grew an old goat ; and I could never find in my heart to kill her, till she died at last of mere age.

But being now in the eleventh year of my residence, and, as I have said, my ammunition growing low, I set myself to study some art to trap and snare the goats, to see whether I could not catch some of them alive ; and particularly I wanted a she-goat great with young. To this purpose I made snares to hamper them ; and believe they were more than once taken in them ; but my tackle was not good, for I had no wire, and always found them broken, and my bait devoured. At length I resolved to try a pit-fall ; so I dug several large pits in the earth, in places where I had observed the goats used to feed, and over these pits I placed hurdles of my own making too, with a great weight upon them ; and several times I put ears of barley, and dry rice, without setting the trap ; and I could easily perceive that the goats had gone in, and eaten up the corn, for I could see the mark of their feet : at length, I set three traps in one night, and going the next morning, I found them all standing, and yet the bait eaten and gone. This was very discouraging ; however, I altered my trap ; and, not to trouble you with particulars, going one morning to see my traps, I found in one of them a large old he-goat ; and, in one of the others, three kids, a male and two females.

As to the old one, I knew not what to do with him ; he was so fierce I durst not go into the pit to him ; that is to say, to go about to bring him away alive, which was what I wanted ; I could have killed him, but that was not my business, nor would it answer my end ; so I e'en let him out, and he ran away as if he had been frightened out of his

wits ; but I did not then know what I afterwards learned, that hunger would tame a lion : if I had let him stay there three or four days without food, and then have carried him some water to drink, and then a little corn, he would have been as tame as one of the kids ; for they are mighty sagacious, tractable creatures, where they are well used.

However, for the present I let him go, knowing no better at that time ; then I went to the three kids ; and taking them one by one, I tied them with strings together ; and with some difficulty brought them all home.

It was a good while before they would feed ; but throwing them some sweet corn, it tempted them, and they began to be tame : and now I found that if I expected to supply myself with goat's flesh, when I had no powder or shot left, breeding some up tame was my only way, when perhaps I might have them about my house like a flock of sheep. But then it presently occurred to me, that I must keep the tame from the wild, or else they would always run wild when they grew up ; and the only way for this was to have some enclosed piece of ground, well fenced either with hedge or pale, to keep them in so effectually, that those within might not break out, or those without break in.

This was a great undertaking for one pair of hands ; yet as I saw there was an absolute necessity of doing it, my first piece of work was to find out a proper piece of ground ; namely, where there was likely to be herbage for them to eat, water for them to drink, and cover to keep them from the sun.

Those who understand such enclosures, will think I had very little contrivance, when I pitched upon a place very proper for all these, being a plain open piece of meadow-land, or savanna (as our people call it in the western colonies) which had two or three little rills of fresh water in it, and at one end was very woody ; I say they will smile at my forecast, when I shall tell them I began my enclosing of this piece of ground in such a manner, that my hedge, or pale, must have been at least two miles about ; nor was the madness of it so great as to the compass ; for if it was ten miles about, I was like to have time enough to do it in ; but I did not consider, that my goats would be as wild in so much compass, as if they had had the whole island ; and I should have so much room to chase them in, that I should never catch them.

My hedge was began and carried on, I believe, about fifty yards, when this thought occurred to me ; so I presently stopped short, and for the first beginning I resolved to enclose a piece of about 150 yards in length, and 100 yards in breadth, which as it would maintain as

many as I should have in any reasonable time, so, as my flock increased, I could add more ground to my enclosure.

This was acting with some prudence, and I went to work with courage. I was about three months edging in the first piece ; and till I had done it, I tethered the three kids in the best part of it, and used them to feed as near me as possible, to make them familiar ; and very often I would go and carry them some ears of barley, or a handful of rice, and feed them out of my hand ; so that after my enclosure was finished, and I let them loose, they would follow me up and down, bleating after me for a handful of corn.

This answered my end, and in about a year and a half I had a flock of about twelve goats, kids and all ; and in two years more I had three-and-forty, besides several I took and killed for my food ; and after that I enclosed five several pieces of ground to feed them in, with little pens to drive them into, to take them as I wanted them ; and gates out of one piece of ground into another.

But this was not all ; for now I not only had goat's-flesh to feed on when I pleased, but milk too, a thing which indeed in my beginning I did not so much as think of, and which, when it came into my thoughts, was really an agreeable surprise ; for now I sat up my dairy, and had sometimes a gallon or two of milk in a day. And as Nature, who gives supplies of food to every creature, dictates even naturally how to make use of it, so I, that had never milked a cow, much less a goat, or seen butter or cheese made, very readily and handily, though after a great many essays and miscarriages, made me both butter and cheese at last, and never wanted it afterwards.

How mercifully can our great Creator treat his creatures, even in those conditions in which they seemed to be overwhelmed in destruction ! How can he sweeten the bitterest providences, and give us cause to praise him for dungeons and prisons ! What a table was here spread for me in a wilderness, where I saw nothing at first but to perish for hunger !

It would have made a stoic smile, to have seen me and my little family sit down to dinner : there was my majesty, the prince and lord of the whole island ; I had the lives of all my subjects at absolute command ; I could hang, draw, give liberty, and take it away, and no rebels among all my subjects !

Then to see how like a king I dined too, all alone, attended by my servants ! Poll, as if he had been my favourite, was the only person permitted to talk to me ; my dog, which was now grown old and crazy, and found no species to multiply his kind upon, sat always at my

right hand ; and two cats, one on one side the table, and one on the other, expecting now and then a bit from my hand as a mark of special favour.



But these were not the two cats which I brought on shore at first ; for they were both of them dead, and had been interred near my habitation by my own hands ; but one of them having multiplied by I know not what kind of creature, these were two which I preserved tame, whereas the rest ran wild into the woods, and became indeed troublesome to me at last ; for they would often come into my house, and plunder me too, till at last I was obliged to shoot them, and did kill a great many. At length they left me with this attendance, and in this plentiful manner I lived ; neither could I be said to want anything but society, and of that, in some time after this, I was like to have too much.

I was something impatient, as I have observed, to have the use of my boat, though very loth to run any more hazard : and therefore sometimes I sat contriving ways to get her about the island, and at other times I sat myself down contented enough without her. But I had a strange uneasiness in my mind to go down to the point of the island, where, as I have said, in my last ramble, I went up the hill to see how the shore lay, and how the current set, that I might see what I had to do : this inclination increased upon me every day ; and at length I resolved to travel thither by land, and following the edge of the shore, I did so : but had any one in England been to meet such a man as I was, it must either have frightened them or raised a great deal of laughter ; and, as I frequently stood still to look at myself, I could

not but smile at the notion of my travelling through Yorkshire with such an equipage, and in such a dress. I had a great high shapeless cap, made of goat's-skin, with a flap hanging down behind, as well to keep the sun from me, as to shoot the rain off from running into my neck ; nothing being so hurtful in these climates as the rain upon the flesh under the clothes. I had a short jacket of goat's-skin, the skirts coming down to about the middle of my thighs, and a pair of open-kneed breeches of the same ; the breeches were made of the skin of an old he-goat, whose hair hung down such a length on either side, that, like pantaloons, it reached to the middle of my legs. Stockings and shoes I had none ; but I made me a pair of something, I scarce know what to call them, like buskins, to flap over my legs, and lace on either side like spatterdashes ; but of a most barbarous shape, as indeed were all the rest of my clothes.

I had on a broad belt of goat's-skin dried, which I drew together with two thongs of the same, instead of buckles ; and in a kind of frog on either side of this, instead of a sword and dagger, hung a little saw and hatchet ; one on one side, one on the other : I had another belt not so broad, and fastened in the same manner, which hung over my shoulder ; and at the end of it, under my left arm, hung two pouches, both made of goat's-skin too ; in one of which hung my powder, in the other my shot : at my back I carried my basket, on my shoulder my gun, and over my head a great clumsy ugly goat's-skin umbrella, but which, after all, was the most necessary thing I had about me, next to my gun : as for my face, the colour of it was really not so Mulatto-like as one might expect from a man not at all careful of it, and living within nine or ten degrees of the equinox. My beard I had once suffered to grow till it was about a quarter of a yard long ; but, as I had both scissors and razors sufficient, I had cut it pretty short, except what grew on my upper lip, which I had trimmed into a large pair of Mahometan whiskers, such as I had seen worn by some Turks whom I saw at Sallee : for the Moors did not wear such though the Turks did. Of these mustachios, or whiskers, I will not say they were long enough to hang my hat upon them ; but they were of length and shape monstrous enough, and such as in England would have passed for frightful.

But all this is by-the-bye ; for, as to my figure, I had so few to observe me that it was no manner of consequence, so I say no more to that part : in this kind of figure I went my new journey, and was out five or six days. I travelled first along the sea-shore, directly to the place where I first brought my boat to an anchor to get up upon

the rocks ; and, having no boat now to take care of, I went over the land a nearer way to the same height that I was upon before ; when looking forward to the point of the rock which I was obliged to double with my boat, as I said above, I was surprised to see the sea all smooth and quiet ; no rippling, no motion, no current, any more there than in other places.

I was at a strange loss to understand this, and resolved to spend some time in the observing of it, to see if nothing from the sets of the tide had occasioned it ; but I was presently convinced how it was ; namely, that the tide of ebb setting from the west, and joining with the current of waters from some great river on the shore, must be the occasion of this current ; and that according as the wind blew more forcibly from the west, or from the north, this current came nearer or went farther from the shore ; for, waiting thereabouts till evening, I went up to the rock again, and then the tide of ebb being made, I plainly saw the current again as before, only that it ran farther off, being near half a league from the shore : whereas in my case it set close upon the shore, and hurried me and my canoe along with it, which at another time it would not have done.

This observation convinced me, that I had nothing to do but to observe the ebbing and the flowing of the tide, and I might very easily bring my boat about the island again. But when I began to think of putting it in practice I had such a terror upon my spirits at the remembrance of the danger I had been in, that I could not think of it again with any patience ; but, on the contrary, I took up another resolution, which was more safe though more laborious ; and this was, that I would build, or rather make me another periagua, or canoe, and so have one for one side of the island, and one for the other.

You are to understand that now I had, as I may call it, two plantations in the island ; one, my little fortification or tent, with the wall about it under the rock, with the cave behind me, which by this time I had enlarged into several apartments or caves, one within another. One of these, which was the driest and largest, and had a door yet beyond my wall or fortification, that is to say, beyond where my wall joined to the rock, was all filled up with large earthen pots, of which I have given an account, and with fourteen or fifteen great baskets, which would hold five or six bushels each, where I laid up my stores of provision, especially my corn, some in the ear cut off short from the straw, and the other rubbed out with my hands.

As for my wall, made as before, with long stakes or piles, those piles grew all like trees, and were by this time grown so big, and spread so

very much, that there was not the least appearance, to any one's view, of any habitation behind them.

Near this dwelling of mine, but a little farther within the land, and upon lower ground, lay my two pieces of corn-ground, which I kept duly cultivated and sowed, and which duly yielded me their harvest in its season ; and whenever I had occasion for more corn I had more land adjoining as fit as that.

Besides this, I had my country-seat, and I had now a tolerable plantation there also ; for, first, I had my little bower, as I called it, which I kept in repair ; that is to say, I kept the hedge which circled it in constantly fitted up to its usual height, the ladder standing always in the inside : I kept the trees, which at first were no more than my stakes, but were now grown very firm and tall ; I kept them always so cut, that they might spread and grow thick and wild, and make the more agreeable shade, which they did effectually to my mind. In the middle of this I had my tent always standing, being a piece of a sail spread over poles set up for that purpose, and which never wanted any repair or renewing ; and under this I had made me a squab or couch, with the skins of the creatures I had killed, and with other soft things, and a blanket laid on them, such as belonged to our sea-bedding, which I had saved, and a great watch-coat to cover me ; and here, whenever I had occasion to be absent from my chief seat, I took up my country habitation.



Adjoining to this I had my enclosures for my cattle, that is to say, my goats : and as I had taken an inconceivable deal of pains to fence and enclose this ground, I was so uneasy to see it kept entire, lest the goats should break through, that I never left off, till with infinite labour

I had stuck the outside of the hedge so full of small stakes, and so near to one another, that it was rather a pale than a hedge, and there was scarce room to put a hand through between them, which afterwards, when those stakes grew, as they all did in the next rainy season, made the enclosure strong like a wall, indeed stronger than any wall.

This will testify for me that I was not idle, and that I spared no pains to bring to pass whatever appeared necessary for my comfortable support; for I considered the keeping up a breed of tame creatures thus at my hand would be a living magazine of flesh, milk, butter, and cheese, for me, as long as I lived in the place, if it were to be forty years; and that keeping them in my reach depended entirely upon my perfecting my enclosures to such a degree that I might be sure of keeping them together; which by this method indeed I so effectually secured that, when these little stakes began to grow, I had planted them so very thick I was forced to pull some of them up again.

In this place also I had my grapes growing, which I principally depended on for my winter store of raisins, and which I never failed to preserve very carefully as the best and most agreeable dainty of my whole diet; and indeed they were not only agreeable, but physical, wholesome, nourishing, and refreshing to the last degree.

As this was also about half way between my other habitation and the place where I had laid up my boat, I generally staid and lay here in my way thither; for I used frequently to visit my boat, and I kept all things about or belonging to her in very good order. Sometimes I went out in her to divert myself, but no more hazardous voyages would I go, nor scarce ever above a stone's cast or two from the shore, I was so apprehensive of being hurried out of my knowledge again by the currents, or winds, or any other accident. But now I come to a new scene of my life.

It happened one day about noon, going towards my boat, I was exceedingly surprised with the print of a man's naked foot on the shore, which was very plain to be seen in the sand. I stood like one thunder-struck, or as if I had seen an apparition. I listened, I looked round me, I could hear nothing, nor see anything; I went up to a rising ground to look farther. I went up the shore, and down the shore, but it was all one, I could see no other impression but that one. I went to it again to see if there were any more, and to observe if it might not be my fancy, but there was no room for that, for there was exactly the very print of a foot, toes, heel, and every part of a foot: how it came thither I knew not, nor could in the least imagine. But after innumerable fluttering thoughts, like a man perfectly confused, and out

of myself, I came home to my fortification, not feeling, as we say, the ground I went on, but terrified to the last degree, looking behind me at every two or three steps, mistaking every bush and tree, and fancying every stump at a distance to be a man. Nor is it possible to describe how many various shapes an affrighted imagination represented things to me in; how many wild ideas were formed every moment in my fancy, and what strange unaccountable whimsies came into my thoughts by the way.

When I came to my castle, for so I think I called it ever after this, I fled into it like one pursued; whether I went over by the ladder, as first contrived, or went in at the hole in the rock, which I called a door, I cannot remember; no, nor could I remember the next morning; for never frightened hare fled to cover, or fox to earth, with more terror of mind than I to this retreat.

I had no sleep that night; the farther I was from the occasion of my fright the greater my apprehensions were; which is something contrary to the nature of such things, and especially to the usual practice of all creatures in fear. But I was so embarrassed with my own frightful ideas of the thing, that I formed nothing but dismal imaginations to myself, even though I was now a great way off it.

At last I concluded that it must be some more dangerous creature; namely, that it must be some of the savages of the main land over against me who had wandered out to sea in their canoes, and, either driven by the currents or by contrary winds, had made the island, and had been on shore, but were gone away again to sea, being as loth, perhaps, to have staid in this desolate island as I would have been to have had them.

While these reflections were rolling upon my mind I was very thankful in my thought that I was so happy as not to be thereabouts at that time, or that they did not see my boat, by which they would have concluded that some inhabitants had been in the place, and perhaps have searched farther for me. Then terrible thoughts racked my imaginations about their having found my boat, and that there were people here; and that, if so, I should certainly have them come again in great numbers, and devour me; that if it should happen so that they should not find me, yet they would find my enclosure, destroy all my corn, carry away all my flock of tame goats, and I should perish at last for mere want.

Thus my fear banished all my religious hope; all that former confidence in God which was founded upon such wonderful experience as I had had of his goodness, now vanished; as if he that had fed me

by miracle hitherto, could not preserve by his power the provision which he had made for me by his goodness. I reproached myself with my easiness, that would not sow any more corn one year than would just serve me till the next season, as if no accident could intervene to prevent my enjoying the crop that was upon the ground. And this I thought so just a reproof, that I resolved for the future to have two or three years' corn before-hand, so that whatever might come, I might not perish for want of bread.

These thoughts took me up many hours, days, nay, I may say, weeks and months; and one particular effect of my cogitations on this occasion I cannot omit; namely, one morning early, lying in my bed, and filled with thoughts about my danger from the appearance of savages, I found it discomposed me very much; upon which those words of the Scripture came into my thoughts, "Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me."

In the middle of these cogitations, apprehensions and reflections, it came into my thoughts one day, that all this might be a mere chimera of my own, and that this foot might be the print of my own foot when I came on shore from my boat. This cheered me up a little too, and I began to persuade myself it was all a delusion; that it was nothing else but my own foot; and why might not I come that way from the boat as well as I was going that way to the boat? Again, I considered also that I could by no means tell for certain where I had trod, and where I had not; and that, if at last this was only the print of my own foot, I had played the part of those fools, who strive to make stories of spectres and apparitions and then are themselves frightened at them more than anybody else.

Now I began to take courage, and to peep abroad again; for I had not stirred out of my castle for three days and nights, so that I began to starve for provision; for I had little or nothing within doors but some barley-cakes and water. Then I knew that my goats wanted to be milked too, which usually was my evening diversion; and the poor creatures were in great pain and inconvenience for want of it; and indeed it almost spoiled some of them, and almost dried up their milk.

Heartening myself therefore with the belief, that this was nothing but the print of one of my own feet (and so I might be truly said to start at my own shadow), I began to go abroad again, and went to my country-house to milk my flock; but to see with what fear I went forward, how often I looked behind me, how I was ready, every now and then, to lay down my basket, and run for my life; it would have

made any one have thought I was haunted with an evil conscience, or that I had been lately most terribly frightened ; and so indeed I had.

However, as I went down thus two or three days, and having seen nothing, I began to be a little bolder, and to think there was really nothing in it but my own imagination ; but I could not persuade myself fully of this till I should go down to the shore again, and see this print of a foot, and measure it by my own, and see if there was any similitude of fitness, that I might be assured it was my own foot. But when I came to the place first, it appeared evidently to me, that when I laid up my boat I could not possibly be on shore anywhere thereabouts. Secondly, when I came to measure the mark with my own foot, I found my foot not so large by a great deal. Both these things filled my head with new imaginations and gave me the vapours again to the highest degree, so that I shook with cold, like one in an ague, and I went home again, filled with the belief that some man or men had been on shore there ; or, in short, that the island was inhabited, and I might be surprised before I was aware ; and what course to take for my security I knew not.

This confusion of my thoughts kept me waking all night ; but in the morning I fell asleep, and having by the amusement of my mind been, as it were, tired, and my spirits exhausted, I slept very soundly, and awaked much better composed than I had ever been before. And now I began to think sedately ; and, upon the utmost debate with myself, I concluded that this island, which was so exceeding pleasant, fruitful, and no farther from the main land than as I had seen, was not so entirely abandoned as I might imagine. That although there were no stated inhabitants who lived on the spot ; yet that there might sometimes come boats off from the shore, who, either with design, or perhaps never but when they were driven by cross winds, might come to this place.

That I had lived here fifteen years now and had not met with the least shadow or figure of any people before ; and that, if at any time they should be driven here, it was probable they went away again as soon as ever they could, seeing they had never thought fit to fix there upon any occasion to this time.

That the most I could suggest any danger from was from any such casual accidental landing of straggling people from the main, who, as it was likely, if they were driven hither, were here against their wills ; so they made no stay here but went off again with all possible speed, seldom staying one night on shore lest they should not have the help of the tides and day-light back again. And that therefore I had

nothing to do but to consider of some safe retreat, in case I should see any savages land upon the spot.

Now I began sorely to repent that I had dug my cave so large as to bring a door through again, which door, as I said, came out beyond where my fortification joined to the rock. Upon maturely considering this, therefore, I resolved to draw me a second fortification, in the manner of a semicircle, at a distance from my wall, just where I planted a double row of trees about twelve years before, of which I made mention : these trees having been planted so thick before there wanted but a few piles to be driven between them, that they should be thicker and stronger, and my wall would be finished.

So that I had now a double wall, and my outer wall was thickened with pieces of timber, old cables, and everything I could think of to



make it strong ; having in it seven holes about as big as I might put my arm out at. In the inside of this I thickened my wall to about ten feet thick, continually bringing earth out of my cave, and laying it at the foot of the wall, and walking upon it ; and through the seven holes I contrived to plant the muskets, of which I took notice that I got seven on shore out of the ship ; these, I say, I planted like my cannon, and fitted them into frames that held them like a carriage, that so I could fire all the seven guns in two minutes' time : this wall I was many a weary month in finishing, and yet never thought myself safe till it was done.

When this was done, I stuck all the ground without my wall, for a great way every way, as full with stakes or sticks of the osier-like

wood, which I found so apt to grow, as they could well stand; insomuch that I believe I might set in near twenty thousand of them, leaving a pretty large space between them and my wall, that I might have room to see an enemy, and they might have no shelter from the young trees, if they attempted to approach my outer wall.

Thus in two years' time I had a thick grove, and in five or six years' time I had a wood before my dwelling, grown so monstrous thick and strong that it was indeed perfectly impassable; and no man of what kind soever would ever imagine that there was anything beyond it, much less a habitation. As for the way I proposed myself to go in and out (for I left no avenue) it was by setting two ladders, one to a part of the rock which was low, and then broke in, and left room to place another ladder upon that; so, when the two ladders were taken down, no man living could come down to me without mischieving himself; and if they had come down they were still on the outside of my outer wall.

Thus I took all the measures human prudence could suggest for my own preservation; and it will be seen at length, that they were not altogether without just reason, though I foresaw nothing at that time more than my mere fear suggested.

While this was doing I was not altogether careless of my other affairs; for I had a great concern upon me for my little herd of goats; they were not only a present supply to me upon every occasion, and began to be sufficient for me, without the expense of powder and shot, but also abated the fatigue of my hunting after the wild ones; and I was loath to lose the advantage of them, and to have them all to nurse up over again.

To this purpose, after long consideration, I could think but of two ways to preserve them: one was to find another convenient place to dig a cave under ground, and to drive them into it every night; and the other was to enclose two or three little bits of land, remote from one another, and as much concealed as I could, where I might keep about half a dozen young goats in each place; so that if any disaster happened to the flock in general, I might be able to raise them again with little trouble and time: and this, though it would require a great deal of time and labour, I thought was the most rational design.

Accordingly I spent some time to find out the most retired parts of the island, and I pitched upon one, which was as private indeed as my heart could wish; for it was a little damp piece of ground in the middle of the hollow and thick woods, where, as is observed, I almost lost myself once before, endeavouring to come back that way from the

eastern part of the island. Here I found a clear piece of land, near three acres, so surrounded with woods that it was almost an enclosure by nature ; at least it did not want near so much labour to make it so as the other pieces of ground I had worked so hard at.

I immediately went to work with this piece of ground, and in less than a month's time I had so fenced it round that my flock or herd, call it which you please, which were not so wild now as at first they might be supposed to be, were well enough secured in it. So, without any farther delay, I removed ten she-goats and two he-goats to this piece ; and, when there, I continued to perfect the fence till I made it as secure as the other, which, however, I did at more leisure, and it took me up more time by a great deal.

All this labour I was at the expense of purely from my apprehensions on the account of the print of a man's foot which I had seen ; for as yet I never saw any human creature come near the island, and I had now lived two years under these uneasinesses, which indeed made my life much less comfortable than it was before, as may well be imagined by any who know what it is to live in the constant snare of the fear of man.

But to go on : after I had thus secured one part of my little living stock, I went about the whole island searching for another private place to make such another deposit ; when wandering more to the west point of the island than I had ever done yet, and looking out to sea, I thought I saw a boat upon the sea at a great distance. I had found a perspective glass or two in one of the seaman's chests, which I saved out of our ship ; but I had it not about me ; and this was so remote that I could not tell what to make of it, though I looked at it till my eyes were not able to look any longer. Whether it was a boat or not I do not know ; but as I descended from the hill I could see no more of it, so I gave it over, only I resolved to go no more without a perspective glass in my pocket.

When I was come down the hill, to the end of the island, where indeed I had never been before, I was presently convinced that the seeing the print of a man's foot was not such a strange thing in the island as I imagined ; and, but that it was a special Providence that I was cast upon the side of the island where the savages never came, I should easily have known that nothing was more frequent than for the canoes from the main, when they happened to be a little too far out at sea, to shoot over to that side of the island for harbour ; likewise, as they often met and fought in their canoes, the victors, having taken any prisoners, would bring them over to this shore, where, according to

their dreadful customs, being all cannibals, they would kill and eat them : of which hereafter.

When I was come down the hill to the shore, as I said above, being the S.W point of the island, I was perfectly confounded and amazed ; nor is it possible for me to express the horror of my mind at seeing the shore spread with skulls, hands, feet, and other bones of human bodies ; and particularly I observed a place where there had been a fire made, and a circle dug in the earth, like a cock-pit, where it is supposed the savage wretches had sat down to their inhuman feastings upon the bodies of their fellow-creatures.



I was so astonished with the sight of these things that I entertained no notions of any danger to myself from it for a long while ; all my apprehensions were buried in the thoughts of such a pitch of inhuman, hellish brutality, and the horror of the degeneracy of human nature ; which, though I had heard of often, yet I never had so near a view of before ; in short, I turned away my face from the horrid spectacle, my stomach grew sick, and I was just at the point of fainting, when nature discharged the disorder from my stomach, and, having vomited with an uncommon violence I was a little relieved, but could not bear to stay in the place a moment ; so I got me up the hill again with all the speed I could, and walked on towards my own habitation.

When I came a little out of that part of the island I stood still awhile as amazed ; and then, recovering myself, I looked up with the utmost affection of my soul, and, with a flood of tears in my eyes, gave God thanks that had cast my first lot in a part of the world where I

was distinguished from such dreadful creatures as these ; and, though I had esteemed my present condition very miserable, had yet given me so many comforts in it, that I had still more to give thanks for than to complain of ; and this above all, that I had, even in this miserable condition, been comforted with the knowledge of himself, and the hope of his blessing, which was a felicity more than sufficiently equivalent to all the misery which I had suffered or could suffer.

In this frame of thankfulness I went home to my castle, and began to be much easier now, as to the safety of my circumstances, than ever I was before ; for I observed that these wretches never came to this island in search of what they could get ; perhaps not seeking, nor wanting, or not expecting anything here ; and having often, no doubt, been up in the covered woody part of it without finding anything to their purpose. I knew I had been here now almost eighteen years and never saw the least footsteps of a human creature there before ; and might be here eighteen years more as entirely concealed as I was now if I did not discover myself to them, which I had no manner of occasion to do, it being my only business to keep myself entirely concealed where I was, unless I found a better sort of creatures than cannibals to make myself known to.

Yet I entertained such an abhorrence of the savage wretches that I have been speaking of, and of the wretched inhuman custom of their devouring and eating one another up, that I continued pensive and sad, and kept close within my own circle for almost two years after this : when I say my own circle, I mean by it my three plantations, namely, my castle, my country-seat, which I called my bower, and my enclosure in the woods ; nor did I look after this for any other use than as an enclosure for my goats ; for the aversion which nature gave me to these hellish wretches was such, that I was as fearful of seeing them as of seeing the devil himself ; nor did I so much as go to look after my boat in all this time, but began rather to think of never making any more attempts to bring the other boat round the island to me, lest I should meet with some of these creatures at sea, in which, if I had happened to have fallen into their hands, I knew what would have been my lot.

Time, however, and the satisfaction I had that I was in no danger of being discovered by these people, began to wear off my uneasiness about them ; and I began to live just in the same composed manner as before, only with this difference, that I used more caution, and kept my eyes more about me than I did before, lest I should happen to be seen by any of them ; and particularly, I was more cautious of firing

my gun, lest any of them being on the island should happen to hear it; and it was therefore a very good providence to me, that I had furnished myself with a tame breed of goats, that I had no need to hunt any more about the woods, or shoot at them; and if I did catch any more of them after this it was with traps and snares, as I had done before: so that for two years after this, I believe I never fired my gun once off, though I never went out without it; and, which was more, as I had saved three pistols out of the ship, I always carried them out with me, or at least two of them, sticking them in my goat-skin belt. I likewise furnished up one of the great cutlasses that I had out of the ship, and made me a belt to put it in also; so that I was now a most formidable fellow to look at when I went abroad, if you add to the former description of myself the particular of two pistols, and a great broadsword hanging at my side in a belt, but without a scabbard.

Things going on thus, as I have said, for some time, I seemed, excepting these cautions, to be reduced to my former calm sedate way of living; all these things tended to show me more and more how far my condition was from being miserable, compared to some others; nay, to many other particulars of life, which it might have pleased God to have made my lot. It put me upon reflecting, how little repining there would be among mankind, at any condition of life, if people would rather compare their condition with those that are worse, in order to be thankful, than be always comparing them with those which are better to assist their murmurings and complainings.

As in my present condition there were not really many things which I wanted, so indeed I thought the frights I had been in about these savage wretches, and the concern I had been in for my own preservation, had taken off the edge of my invention for my own conveniences; and I had dropt a good design, which I had once bent my thoughts upon; and that was, to try if I could not make some of my barley into malt, and then try to brew myself some beer: this was really a whimsical thought; and I reproved myself often for the simplicity of it; for I presently saw there would be the want of several things necessary to the making my beer, that it would be impossible for me to supply; as, first, casks to preserve it in, which was a thing that, as I have observed already, I could never compass; no, though I spent not many days, but weeks, nay months, in attempting it, but to no purpose. In the next place, I had no hops to make it keep, no yeast to make it work, no copper or kettle to make it boil; and yet, had not all these things intervened, I mean the frights and terrors I was in about the savages, I had undertaken it, and perhaps brought it to pass too; for I seldom

gave anything over without accomplishing it, when I once had it in my head enough to begin it.

But my invention now ran quite another way ; for night and day I could think of nothing but how I might destroy some of these monsters in their cruel bloody entertainment, and if possible, save the victim they should bring hither to destroy. It would take up a larger volume than this whole work is intended to be to set down all the contrivances I hatched, or rather brooded upon in my thoughts, for the destroying these creatures, or at least frightening them, so as to prevent their coming hither any more ; but all was abortive ; nothing could be possible to take effect unless I was to be there to do it myself ; and what could one man do among them, when perhaps there might be twenty or thirty of them together, with their darts, or their bows and arrows, with which they could shoot as true to a mark as I could with my gun ?

Sometimes I contrived to dig a hole under the place where they made their fire, and put in five or six pounds of gunpowder, which, when they kindled their fire, would consequently take fire, and blow up all that was near it ; but, as in the first place I should be very loath to waste so much powder upon them, my store being now within the quantity of a barrel, so neither could I be sure of its going off at any certain time when it might surprise them ; and, at best, that it would do little more than just blow the fire about their ears, and fright them, but not sufficient to make them forsake the place ; so I laid it aside, and then proposed that I would place myself in ambush, in some convenient place, with my three guns all double-loaded, and in the middle of their bloody ceremony let fly at them, when I should be sure to kill or wound perhaps two or three at every shot : and then falling in upon them with my three pistols and my sword, I made no doubt but that, if there were twenty, I should kill them all : this fancy pleased my thoughts for some weeks, and I was so full of it that I often dreamt of it, and sometimes, that I was just going to let fly at them in my sleep.

I went so far with it in my indignation, that I employed myself several days to find out proper places to put myself in ambuscade, as I said, to watch for them ; and I went frequently to the place itself, which was now grown more familiar to me ; and especially while my mind was thus filled with thoughts of revenge, and of a bloody putting twenty or thirty of them to the sword, as I may call it ; but the horror I had at the place, and at the signals of the barbarous wretches devouring one another, abated my malice.

Well, at length I found a place in the side of the hill, where I was

satisfied I might securely wait till I saw any of the boats coming, and might then, even before they would be ready to come on shore, convey myself unseen into thickets of trees, in one of which there was a hollow large enough to conceal me entirely, and where I might sit and observe all their bloody doings, and take my full aim at their heads, when they were so close together so that it would be next to impossible that I should miss my shoot, or that I could fail wounding three or four of them at the first shoot.

In this place then I resolved to fix my design, and accordingly I prepared two muskets and my ordinary fowling-piece. The two muskets I loaded with a brace of slugs each, and four or five smaller bullets, about the size of pistol-bullets, and the fowling-piece I loaded with near a handful of swan-shot of the largest size; I also loaded my pistols with about four bullets each; and in this posture, well provided with ammunition for a second and third charge, I prepared myself for my expedition.

After I had thus laid the scheme for my design, and in my imagination put it in practice, I continually made my tour every morning up to the top of the hill, which was from my castle, as I called it, about three miles or more, to see if I could observe any boats upon the sea coming near the island, or standing over towards it; but I began to tire of this hard duty, after I had for two or three months constantly kept my watch; but came always back without any discovery, there having not in all that time been the least appearance, not only on or near the shore, but not on the whole ocean, so far as my eyes or glasses could reach every way.

As long as I kept up my daily tour to the hill to look out, so long also I kept up the vigour of my design, and my spirits seemed to be all the while in a suitable frame for so outrageous an execution as the killing twenty or thirty naked savages, for an offence which I had not at all entered into a discussion of in my thoughts, any further than my passions were at first fired by the horror I conceived at the unnatural custom of the people of that country, who, it seems, had been suffered by Providence, in his wise disposition of the world, to have no other guide than that of their own abominable and vitiated passions; and, consequently, were left, and perhaps had been for some ages, to act such horrid things, and receive such dreadful customs as nothing but nature entirely abandoned of Heaven, and actuated by some hellish degeneracy, could have run them into; but now, when, as I have said, I began to be weary of the fruitless excursion which I had made so long, and so far, every morning in vain; so my opinion of the action itself began

to alter, and I began, with cooler and calmer thoughts, to consider what it was I was going to engage in ; what authority or call I had to pretend to be judge and executioner upon these men as criminals, whom Heaven had thought fit for so many ages to suffer, unpunished, to go on, and to be, as it were, the executioners of his judgments upon one another ; also, how far these people were offenders against me, and what right I had to engage in the quarrel of that blood which they shed promiscuously one upon another. I debated this very often with myself thus : How do I know what God himself judges in this particular case ? It is certain these people do not commit this as a crime ; it is not against their own consciences reproving, or their light reproaching them. They do not know it to be an offence, and then commit it in defiance of divine justice, as we do in almost all the sins we commit. They think it no more a crime to kill a captive taken in war, than we do to kill an ox ; nor to eat human flesh, than we do to eat mutton.

When I had considered this a little, it followed necessarily, that I was certainly in the wrong in it ; that these people were not murderers in the sense that I had before condemned them in my thoughts, any more than those Christians were murderers, who often put to death the prisoners taken in battle, or more frequently, upon many occasions, put whole troops of men to the sword, without giving quarter, though they threw down their arms and submitted.

In the next place, it occurred to me, that albeit the usage they gave one another was thus brutish and inhuman, yet it was really nothing to me : these people had done me no injury : that if they attempted me, or I saw it necessary for my immediate preservation to fall upon them, something might be said for it ; but that I was yet out of their power, and they had really no knowledge of me, and consequently no design upon me ; and therefore it could not be just for me to fall upon them : that this would justify the conduct of the Spaniards, in all their barbarities practised in America, where they destroyed millions of these people, who, however they were idolaters and barbarians, and had several bloody and barbarous rites in their customs, such as sacrificing human bodies to their idols, were yet, as to the Spaniards, very innocent people ; and that the rooting them out of the country is spoken of with the utmost abhorrence and detestation, even by the Spaniards themselves, at this time, and by all other Christian nations of Europe, as a mere butchery, a bloody and unnatural piece of cruelty, unjustifiable either to God or man ; and such, as for which the very name of a Spaniard is reckoned to be frightful and terrible to all people of humanity, or of Christian compassion ; as if the kingdom of Spain were particularly

eminent for the product of a race of men, who were without principles of tenderness, or the common bowels of pity to the miserable, which is reckoned to be a mark of a generous temper in the mind.

These considerations really put me to a pause, and to a kind of a full stop ; and I began by little and little to be off my design, and to conclude I had taken a wrong measure in my resolutions to attack the savages ; that it was not my business to meddle with them, unless they first attacked me, and this it was my business, if possible, to prevent ; but that, if I were discovered and attacked, then I knew my duty.

On the other hand, I argued with myself, that this really was the way, not to deliver myself, but entirely to ruin and destroy myself ; for unless I was sure to kill every one that not only should be on shore at that time, but that should ever come on shore afterwards, if but one of them escaped to tell their country-people what had happened, they would come over again by thousands to revenge the death of their fellows ; and I should only bring upon myself a certain destruction, which at present I had no manner of occasion for.

Upon the whole, I concluded, that neither in principles nor in policy, I ought one way or other to concern myself in this affair : that my business was by all possible means to conceal myself from them, and not to leave the least signal to them to guess by, that there were any living creatures upon the island, I mean of human shape.

Religion joined in with this prudential resolution, and I was convinced now many ways that I was perfectly out of my duty, when I was laying all my bloody schemes for the destruction of innocent creatures, I mean innocent as to me ; as to the crimes they were guilty of towards one another, I had nothing to do with them ; they were national, and I ought to leave them to the justice of God, who is the governor of nations, and knows how by national punishments to make a just retribution for national offences ; and to bring public judgments upon those who offend in a public manner, by such ways as best please him.

In this disposition I continued for near a year after this : and so far was I from desiring an occasion for falling upon these wretches, that in all that time I never once went up the hill to see whether there were any of them in sight, or to know whether any of them had been on shore there or not ; that I might not be tempted to renew any of my contrivances against them, or be provoked, by any advantage which might present itself, to fall upon them ; only this I did, I went and removed my boat, which I had on the other side the island, and carried it down to the east end of the whole island, where I ran it into a little cove which I found under some high rocks, and where I knew, by

reason of the currents, the savages durst not, at least would not, come with their boats, upon any account whatsoever.

With my boat I carried away everything that I had left there belonging to her, though not necessary for the bare going thither ; namely, a mast and sail, which I had made for her, and a thing like an anchor, but indeed, which could not be called either anchor or grappling : however, it was the best I could make of its kind. All these I removed, that there might not be the least shadow of any discovery, or any appearance of any boat, or of any habitation upon the island.

Besides this, I kept myself, as I said, more retired than ever, and seldom went from my cell other than upon my constant employment, namely, to milk my she-goats, and manage my little flock in the wood, which, as it was quite on the other part of the island, was quite out of danger : for certain it is, that these savage people, who sometimes haunted this island, never came with any thoughts of finding anything here, and consequently never wandered off from the coast ; and I doubt not but they might have been several times on shore, after my apprehensions of them had made me cautious, as well as before ; and indeed I looked back with some horror upon the thoughts of what my condition would have been, if I had chanced upon them, and been discovered when naked and unarmed, except with my gun, and that loaded often only with small shot. I walked everywhere peeping and peeping about the island, to see what I could get. What a surprise should I have been in, if, when I discovered the print of a man's foot, I had instead of that seen fifteen or twenty savages, and found them pursuing me, and, by the swiftness of their running, no possibility of my escaping them !

The thoughts of this sometimes sunk my very soul within me, and distressed my mind so much, that I could not soon recover it. I confess that these anxieties, these constant dangers I lived in, and the concern that was now upon me, put an end to all invention, and to all the contrivances that I had laid for my future accommodations and conveniences. I had the care of my safety more now upon my hands than that of my food. I cared not to drive a nail, or chop a stick of wood now, for fear the noise I should make should be heard ; much less would I fire a gun, for the same reason ; and above all, I was intolerably uneasy at making any fire, lest the smoke, which is visible at a great distance in the day, should betray me : and for this reason I removed that part of my business which required fire, such as burning of pots and pipes, &c. into my new apartment in the woods ; where, after I had been some time, I found, to my unspeakable consolation, a mere natural cave in the earth, which went in a vast way, and where,





THE GOAT IN THE CAVE

I dare say, no savage, had he been at the mouth of it, would be so hardy as to venture in, nor indeed would any man else, but one who, like me, wanted nothing so much as a safe retreat.

The mouth of this hollow was at the bottom of a great rock, where, by mere accident (I would say, if I did not see an abundant reason to ascribe all such things now to Providence), I was cutting down some thick branches of trees to make charcoal ; and before I go on, I must observe the reason of my making this charcoal, which was thus :

I was afraid of making a smoke about my habitation, as I said before ; and yet I could not live there without baking my bread, cooking my meat, &c. so I contrived to burn some wood here, as I had seen done in England, under turf, till it became chark, or dry coal ; and then putting the fire out, I preserved the coal to carry home, and perform the other services which fire was wanting for at home, without danger of smoke.

But this is by the bye. While I was cutting down some wood here, I perceived that behind a very thick branch of low brushwood, or underwood, there was a kind of hollow place. I was curious to look into it, and, getting with difficulty into the mouth of it, I found it was pretty large, that is to say, sufficient for me to stand upright in it, and perhaps another with me ; but I must confess to you, I made more



haste out than I did in ; when looking farther into the place, which was perfectly dark, I saw two broad shining eyes of some creature, whether devil or man I knew not, which twinkled like two stars, the dim light from the cave's mouth shining directly in, and making the reflection.





THE GOAT IN THE CAVE

However, after some pause, I recovered myself, and began to call myself a thousand fools, and tell myself, that he that was afraid to see the devil, was not fit to live twenty years in an island all alone, and that I durst to believe there was nothing in this cave that was more frightful than myself: upon this, plucking up my courage, I took up a great fireband, and in I rushed again, with the stick flaming in my hand. I had not gone three steps in, but I was almost as much frightened as I was before; for I heard a very loud sigh, like that of a man in some pain; and it was followed by a broken noise, as if of words half-expressed, and then a deep sigh again. I stepped back, and was indeed struck with such a surprise, that it put me into a cold sweat; and if I had had a hat on my head, I will not answer for it that my hair might not have lifted it off. But still, plucking up my spirits as well as I could, and encouraging myself a little, with considering that the power and presence of God was everywhere, and was able to protect me; upon this I stepped forward again, and by the light of the firebrand, holding it up a little over my head, I saw lying on the ground a most monstrous frightful old he-goat, just making his will, as we say, and gasping for life, and dying indeed of mere old age.

I stirred him a little to see if I could get him out, and he essayed to get up, but was not able to raise himself; and I thought with myself, he might even lie there; for he had frightened me so, he would certainly fright any of the savages, if any of them should be so hardy as to come in there, while he had any life in him.

I was now recovered from my surprise, and began to look round me, when I found the cave was but very small; that is to say, it might be about twelve foot over, but in no manner of shape, either round or square, no hands ever having been employed in making it but those of mere nature. I observed also, that there was a place at the farther side of it that went in farther, but was so low, that it required me to creep upon my hands and knees to go into it, and whither I went, I knew not; so having no candle, I gave it over for some time, but resolved to come again the next day, provided with candles and a tinder-box, which I had made of the lock of one of the muskets, with some wild-fire in the pan.

Accordingly, the next day, I came provided with six large candles of my own making (for I made very good candles now of goat's tallow); and going into this low place, I was obliged to creep upon all fours, as I have said, almost ten yards; which, by the way, I thought was a venture bold enough, considering that I knew not how far it might go, nor what was beyond it. When I was got through the streight, I found

the roof rose higher up, I believe near twenty foot ; but never was such a glorious sight seen in the island, I dare say, as it was, to look round the sides and roof of this vault or cave. The walls reflected an hundred thousand lights to me from my two candles : what it was in the rock, whether diamonds, or any other precious stones, or gold, which I rather suppose it to be, I knew not.

The place I was in was a most delightful cavity, or grotto, of its kind, as could be expected, though perfectly dark ; the floor was dry and level, and had a sort of small loose gravel upon it ; so that there was no nauseous or venomous creature to be seen ; neither was there any damp or wet on the sides or roof ; the only difficulty in it was the entrance, which, however, as it was a place of security, and such a retreat as I wanted, I thought that was a convenience ; so that I was really rejoiced at the discovery, and resolved, without any delay, to bring some of those things which I was most anxious about to this place ; particularly, I resolved to bring hither my magazine of powder, and all my spare arms, namely, two fowling-pieces (for I had three in all) and three muskets (for of them I had eight in all) ; so I kept at my castle only five, which stood ready mounted, like pieces of cannon, on my outmost fence, and were ready also to take out upon any expedition.

Upon this occasion of removing my ammunition, I took occasion to open the barrel of powder which I took up out of the sea, and which had been wet ; and I found that the water had penetrated about three or four inches into the powder on every side, which, caking and growing hard, had preserved the inside like a kernel in a shell ; so that I had near sixty pound of very good powder in the centre of the cask ; and this was an agreeable discovery to me at that time ; so I carried all away thither, never keeping above two or three pound of powder with me in my castle, for fear of a surprise of any kind. I also carried thither all the lead I had left for bullets.

I fancied myself now like one of the ancient giants, which are said to live in caves and holes in the rocks, where none could come at them ; for I persuaded myself while I was here, if five hundred savages were to hunt me, they could never find me out ; or if they did, they would not venture to attack me here.

The old goat, whom I found expiring, died in the mouth of the cave the next day after I made this discovery ; and I found it much easier to dig a great hole there, and throw him in, and cover him with earth, than to drag him out ; so I interred him there, to prevent offence to my nose.

I was now in my twenty-third year of residence in this island, and

was so naturalized to the place, and to the manner of living, that could I have but enjoyed the certainty that no savages would come to the place to disturb me, I could have been content to have capitulated for spending the rest of my time there, even to the last moment, till I had laid me down and died, like the old goat in the cave. I had also arrived to some little diversions and amusements, which made the time pass more pleasantly with me a great deal than it did before ; as, first, I had taught my Poll, as I noted before, to speak ; and he did it so familiarly, and talked so articulately and plain, that it was very pleasant to me ; and he lived with me no less than six-and-twenty years : how long he might live afterwards I know not ; though I know they have a notion in the Brasils, that they live a hundred years ; perhaps poor Poll may be alive there still, calling after poor Robin Crusoe to this day ; I wish no Englishman the ill luck to come there and hear him ; but if he did, he would certainly believe it was the devil. My dog was a very pleasant and loving companion to me for no less than sixteen years of my time, and then died of mere old age ; as for my cats, they multiplied, as I have observed, to that degree, that I was obliged to shoot several of them at first, to keep them from devouring me and all I had ; but at length, when the two old ones I brought with me were gone, and after some time continually driving them from me, and letting them have no provision with me, they all ran wild into the woods, except two or three favourites, which I kept tame, and whose young, when they had any, I always drowned, and these were part of my family. Besides these, I always kept two or three household kids about me, which I taught to feed out of my hand ; and I had also more parrots which talked pretty well, and would all call Robin Crusoe, but none like my first ; nor indeed, did I take the pains with any of them that I had done with him. I had also several tame sea-fowls, whose names I know not, which I caught upon the shore, and cut their wings ; and the little stakes, which I had planted before my castle wall, being now grown up to a good thick grove, these fowls all lived among these low trees, and bred there, which was very agreeable to me, so that, as I said above, I began to be very well contented with the life I led, if it might but have been secured from the dread of the savages.

But it was otherwise directed ; and it may not be amiss for all people who shall meet with my story to make this just observation from it, namely, How frequently, in the course of our lives, the evil which in itself we seek most to shun, and which, when we are fallen into, is the most dreadful to us, is oftentimes the very means or door of our deliverance, by which alone we can be raised again from the affliction

we are fallen into. I could give many examples of this in the course of my unaccountable life ; but in nothing was it more particularly remarkable than in the circumstances of my last two years of solitary residence in this island.

It was now the month of December, as I said above, in my twenty-third year ; and this being the southern solstice, for winter I cannot call it, was the particular time of my harvest, and required my being pretty much abroad in the fields ; when going out pretty early in the morning, even before it was thorough day-light, I was surprised with



seeing a light of some fire upon the shore, at a distance from me of about two miles, towards the end of the island, where I had observed some savages had been before ; but not on the other side ; but to my great affliction, it was on my side of the island.

I was indeed terribly surprised at the sight, and stepped short within my grove, not daring to go out, lest I might be surprised ; and yet I had no more peace within, from the apprehensions I had, that if these savages, in rambling over the island, should find my corn standing, or cut, or any of my works and improvements, they would immediately conclude that there were people in the place, and would then never give over till they had found me out. In this extremity I went back directly to my castle, pulled up the ladder after me, having made all things without look as wild and natural as I could.

Then I prepared myself within, putting myself in a posture of defence. I loaded all my cannon, as I called them, that is to say, my

muskets, which were mounted upon my new fortification, and all my pistols, and resolved to defend myself to the last gasp ; not forgetting seriously to commend myself to the divine protection, and earnestly to pray to God to deliver me out of the hands of the barbarians ; and in this posture I continued about two hours, but began to be mighty impatient for intelligence abroad, for I had no spies to send out.

After sitting a while longer, and musing what I should do in this case, I was not able to bear sitting in ignorance longer ; so setting up my ladder to the side of the hill, where there was a flat place, as I observed before, and then pulling the ladder up after me, I set it up again, and mounted to the top of the hill ; and pulling out my perspective glass, which I had taken on purpose, I laid me down flat on my belly on the ground, and began to look for the place. I presently found there was no less than nine naked savages sitting round a small fire they had made ; not to warm them, for they had no need of that, the weather being extreme hot ; but, as I supposed, to dress some of their barbarous diet of human flesh, which they had brought with them, whether alive or dead I could not know.

They had two canoes with them, which they had hauled up upon the shore ; and as it was then tide of ebb, they seemed to me to wait for the return of the flood to go away again. It is not easy to imagine what confusion this sight put me into, especially seeing them come on my side the island, and so near me too ; but when I observed their coming must be always with the current of the ebb, I began afterwards to be more sedate in my mind, being satisfied that I might go abroad with safety all the time of the tide of flood, if they were not on shore before ; and having made this observation, I went abroad about my harvest work with the more composure.

As I expected, so it proved ; for as soon as the tide made to the westward, I saw them all take boat, and row (or paddle as we call it) all away. I should have observed, that for an hour and more before they went off, they went to dancing, and I could easily discern their postures and gestures by my glasses : I could not perceive, by my nicest observation, but that they were stark naked, and had not the least covering upon them ; but whether they were men or women, that I could not distinguish.

As soon as I saw them shipped and gone, I took two guns upon my shoulders, and two pistols at my girdle, and my great sword by my side, without a scabbard ; and with all the speed I was able to make, I went away to the hill, where I had discovered the first appearance of all. And as soon as I got thither, which was not less than two hours (for I

could not go apace, being so loaded with arms as I was), I perceived there had been three canoes more of savages on that place; and looking out farther, I saw they were all at sea together, making over for the main.

This was a dreadful sight to me, especially when going down to the shore, I could see the marks of horror which the dismal work they had been about had left behind it, namely, the blood, the bones, and part of the flesh of human bodies, eaten and devoured by those wretches with merriment and sport. I was so filled with indignation at the sight, that I began now to premeditate the destruction of the next that I saw there let them be who or how many soever.

It seemed evident to me, that the visits which they thus made to this island were not very frequent; for it was above fifteen months before any more of them came on shore there again, that is to say, I never saw them, or any footsteps or signals of them in all that time; and I found they did not come in the rainy season; yet all this while I lived uncomfortably, by reason of the constant apprehensions I was in of their coming upon me by surprise.

However, I wore out a year and three months more, before I saw any of the savages; but in the month of May, as near as I could calculate, and in my four-and-twentieth year, I had a very strange encounter with them, of which in its place.

The perturbation of my mind, during this fifteen or sixteen months' interval, was very great. In the day great troubles overwhelmed my mind; in the night I dreamed often of killing savages, and the reasons why I might justify the doing of it. But, to waive all this for a while, it was the middle of May, on the sixteenth day, I think, that it blew a very great storm of wind all day, with a great deal of lightning and thunder, and a very foul night it was. I know not what was the particular occasion of it, but as I was reading the Bible, and taken up with serious thoughts about my present condition, I was surprised with the noise of a gun, as I thought, fired at sea.

This was, to be sure, a surprise of quite a different nature from any I had met with before, for the notions this put into my thoughts were quite of another kind. I started up in the greatest haste imaginable, and, in a trice, clapped up my ladder to the middle place of the rock, and pulled it after me, and mounting it the second time, got to the top of the hill; that moment a flash of fire bade me listen for a second gun, which, accordingly, in about half a minute I heard, and by the sound, knew that it was from that part of the sea where I was driven out with the current in my boat.

I immediately considered that this must be some ship in distress, and that they had some comrade, or some other ship in company, and fired these guns for signals of distress, and to obtain help. I had this presence of mind at that minate, as to think, that though I could not help them, it may be they might help me; so I brought together all the dry wood I could get at hand, and making a good sized pile, I set it on fire upon the hill; the wood was dry, and blazed freely, and though the wind blew very hard, yet it burnt fairly out, so that I was certain, if there was any such thing as a ship, they must needs see it, and no doubt they did, for as soon as my fire blazed up, I heard another gun, and after that several others, all from the same quarter. I plied my fire all night long, till day broke, and when it was broad day, and the air cleared up, I saw something at a great distance at sea, full east of the island, whether a sail, or a hull, I could not distinguish, no, not with my glasses, the distance was so great, and the weather still being hazy also: at least it was so out at sea.

I looked frequently at it all that day, and soon perceived that it did not move; so I presently concluded that it was a ship at anchor, and being eager, you may be sure, to be satisfied, I took my gun in my hand and ran towards the south-east side of the island, to the rocks, where I had been formerly carried away with the current, and getting up there, the weather by this time being perfectly clear, I could plainly see, to my great sorrow, the wreck of a ship cast away in the night upon these



concealed rocks, which I found when I was out in my boat, and which rocks, as they checked the violence of the stream, and made a kind of counter stream, or eddy, were the occasion of my recovering then from the most desperate, hopeless condition that ever I had been in.

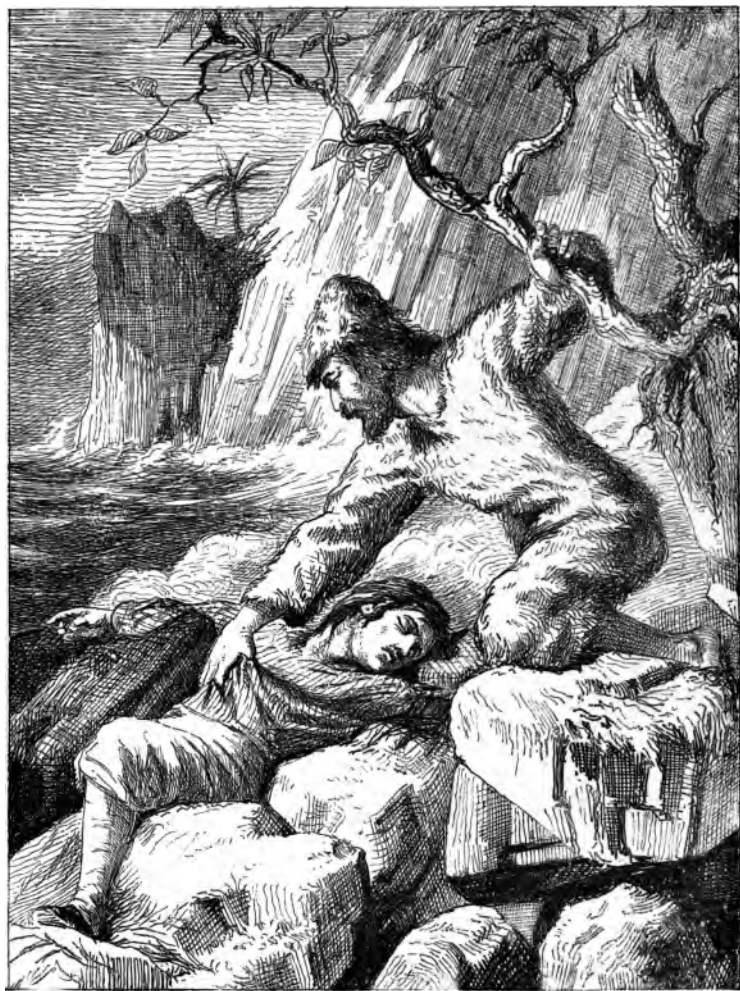
Thus, what is one man's safety is another man's destruction ; for it seems these men, whoever they were, being out of their knowledge, and the rocks being wholly under water, had been driven upon them in the night, the wind blowing very hard at E. and E.N.E. Had they seen the island, as I must necessarily suppose they did not, they must, as I thought, have endeavoured to have saved themselves on shore by the help of their boat ; but the firing of their guns for help, especially when they saw, as I imagined, my fire, filled me with many thoughts.

In the condition I was in, I could do no more than look upon the misery of the poor men, and pity them, which had still this good effect on my side, that it gave me more and more cause to give thanks to God, who had so happily and comfortably provided for me in my desolate condition ; and that of two ships' companies, who were now cast away upon this part of the world, not one life should be spared but mine. I learnt here again to observe, that it is very rare the providence of God casts us into any condition of life so low, or any misery so great, but we may see something to be thankful for, and may see others worse than ourselves.

Such certainly was the case of these men, of whom I could not so much as see room to suppose any of them were saved ; nothing could make it rational, so much as to wish or expect that they did not all perish there, except the possibility only of their being taken up by another ship in company ; and this was but mere possibility indeed ; for I saw not the least signal or appearance of any such thing.

I cannot explain by words, what a strange longing or hankering of desires I felt in my soul upon this sight, breaking out sometimes thus : —“O that there had been but one or two, nay, but one soul saved out of the ship, to have escaped to me, that I might have had one companion, one fellow-creature, to have spoken to me, and to have conversed with !” In all the time of my solitary life, I never felt so earnest, so strong a desire, after the society of my fellow-creatures, or so deep a regret at the want of it.

But it was not to be ; either their fate, or mine, or both, forbade it ; for, till the last year of my being in this island, I never knew whether any were saved out of the ship or no ; and had only the affliction, some days after, to see the corpse of a drowned boy washed on shore, at the end of the island which was next the shipwreck. He had on a seaman's waistcoat, a pair of open-kneed linen drawers, and a blue linen shirt ; but nothing to direct me to guess what nation he was of. He had nothing in his pocket but two pieces of eight, and a tobacco-pipe. The last was of more value to me than the first.



CRUSOE FINDS A DROWNED BOY

It was now calm, and I had a great mind to venture out in my boat to this wreck, not doubting but I might find something on board that might be useful to me ; and possibly there might be yet some living creature on board, whose life I might not only save, but might, by saving that life, comfort my own to the last degree ; and this thought clung so to my heart, that I could not be quiet night or day, but I must venture out in my boat on board this wreck ; and committing the rest to God's providence, I thought the impression was so strong upon my mind, that it could not be resisted, that it must come from some invisible direction, and that I should be wanting to myself if I did not go.

Under the power of this impression, I hastened back to my castle, prepared everything for my voyage, took a quantity of bread, a great pot of fresh water, a compass to steer by, a bottle of rum (for I had still a great deal of that left), a basket full of raisins, and thus loading myself with everything necessary, I went down to my boat, got the water out of her, and got her afloat, loaded all my cargo in her, and then went home again for more. My second cargo was a great bag full of rice, the umbrella to set up over my head for a shade, another pot full of fresh water, and about two dozen of my small loaves, or barley cakes, more than before, with a bottle of goat's milk, and a cheese ; all which, with great labour and sweat, I brought to my boat, and praying to God to direct my voyage, I put out ; and, rowing or paddling the canoe along the shore, I came at last to the utmost point of the island on that side, namely, N.E. And now I was to launch out into the ocean, and either to venture or not venture. I looked on the rapid currents which ran constantly on both sides of the island at a distance, and which were very terrible to me, from the remembrance of the hazard I had been in before, and my heart began to fail me ; for I foresaw, that if I was driven into either of these currents, I should be carried a vast way out to sea, and perhaps out of reach, or sight, of the island again ; and that, as my boat was but small, if any little gale of wind should rise, I should be inevitably lost.

These thoughts so oppressed my mind, that I began to give over my enterprise, and having hauled my boat into a little creek on the shore, I stepped out, and sat me down upon a little spot of rising ground, very pensive and anxious, between fear and desire, about my voyage ; when, as I was musing, I could perceive that the tide was turned, and the flood came on, upon which my going was for so many hours impracticable. Upon this it presently occurred to me, that I should go up to the highest piece of ground I could find, and observe, i If could, how

the sets of the tide or currents lay when the flood came in, that I might judge whether, if I was driven one way out, I might not expect to be driven another way home, with the same rapidness of the currents. This thought was no sooner in my head, but I cast my eye upon a little hill, which sufficiently overlooked the sea both ways, and from whence I had a clear view of the currents, or sets of the tide, and which way I was to guide myself in my return. Here I found that as the current of the ebb set out close by the south point of the island, so the current of the flood set in close by the shore of the north side ; and that I had nothing to do but to keep to the north of the island in my return, and I should do well enough.

Encouraged with this observation, I resolved the next morning to set out with the first of the tide ; and reposing myself for that night in the canoe, under the great watch-coat I mentioned, I launched out in the morning. I made first a little out to sea, full north, till I began to feel the benefit of the current, which set eastward, and which carried me at a great rate, and yet did not so hurry me as the southern side current had done before, and so as to take from me all government of the boat ; but, having a strong steerage with my paddle, I went directly for the wreck, and in less than two hours, I came up to it.



It was a dismal sight to look at : the ship, which by the building was Spanish, stuck fast jambed in between two rocks ; all the stern and quarter of her was beaten to pieces with the sea ; and as her fore-castle, which stuck in the rocks, had run on with great violence, her main-mast and fore-mast were brought by the board, that is to say, broken short off ; but her bowsprit was sound, and the head and bow

appeared firm. When I came close to her, a dog appeared upon her, who, seeing me coming, yelped and cried ; and as soon as I called him, jumped into the sea to come to me ; and I took him into the boat, and found him almost dead for hunger and thirst. I gave him a cake of my bread, and he eat it like a ravenous wolf that had been starving for a fortnight in the snow. I then gave the poor creature some fresh water, with which, if I would have let him, he would have burst himself.

After this I went on board. The first sight I met with was two men drowned in the cook-room, or fore-castle of the ship, with their arms fast about one another. I concluded, as is indeed probable, that when the ship struck, it being in a storm, the sea broke so high, and so continually over her, that the men were not able to bear it, and were strangled with the constant rushing in of the water, as much as if they had been under water. Besides the dog, there was nothing left in the ship that had life, or any goods that I could see, but what were spoiled by the water. There were some casks of liquor, whether wine or brandy, I knew not, which lay lower in the hold, and which, the water being ebbed out, I could see, but they were too big to meddle with. I saw several chests, which I believed belonged to some of the seamen, and I got two of them into the boat, without examining what was in them.

Had the stern of the ship been fixed, and the fore part broken off, I am persuaded I might have made a good voyage ; for, by what I found in these two chests, I had room to suppose the ship had a great deal of wealth on board ; and, if I may guess by the course she steered, she must have been bound from Buenos Ayres, or the Rio de la Plata, in the south part of America, beyond the Brasils, to the Havannah, in the Gulf of Mexico, and so perhaps to Spain.

I found, besides these chests, a little cask full of liquor, of about twenty gallons, which I got into my boat with much difficulty. There were several muskets in the cabin, and a great powder-horn, with about four pounds of powder in it ; as for the muskets, I had no occasion for them, so I left them, but took the powder-horn. I took a fire-shovel and tongs, which I wanted extremely ; as also two little brass kettles, a copper pot to make chocolate, and a gridiron ; and with this cargo and the dog, I came away, the tide beginning to make home again ; and the same evening, about an hour within night, I reached the island again, weary and fatigued to the last degree.

I reposed that night in the boat, and in the morning I resolved to harbour what I had gotten in my new cave, not to carry it home to my

castle. After refreshing myself, I got all my cargo on shore, and began to examine it. The cask of liquor I found to be a kind of rum, but not such as we had at the Brasils, and, in a word, not at all good. But when I came to open the chests, I found several things I wanted : for example, I found in one a fine case of bottles, of an extraordinary kind, and filled with cordial waters, fine, and very good : the bottles held about three pints each, and were tipped with silver. I found two pots of very good succades, or sweetmeats, so fastened on top, that the salt water had not hurt them ; and two more of the same, which the water had spoiled. I found some very good shirts, which were very welcome to me, and about a dozen and a half of white linen handkerchiefs, and coloured neckcloths ; the former were also very welcome, being exceedingly refreshing to wipe my face on in a hot dry day. Besides this, when I came to the till in the chest, I found there three great bags of pieces of eight, which held about eleven hundred pieces in all ; and in one of them, wrapt up in a paper, six doubloons of gold, and some small bars of gold ; I suppose they might all weigh near a pound.

The other chest I found had some clothes in it, but of little value ; but by the circumstances it must have belonged to the gunner's mate, though there was no powder in it, but about two pounds of glazed powder in three small flasks, kept, I suppose, for charging their fowling-pieces on occasion. Upon the whole, I got very little by this voyage that was of much use to me, for, as to the money, I had no manner of occasion for it, it was to me as the dirt under my feet, and I would have given it all for three or four pair of English shoes and stockings, which were things I greatly wanted, for I had not had a pair on my feet for many years. I had, indeed, gotten two pair of shoes now, which I took off the feet of the two men whom I found drowned in the wreck ; and I found two pair more in one of the chests, which were very welcome to me ; but they were not like our English shoes, either for ease or service, being rather what we call pumps than shoes. I found in this seaman's chest about fifty pieces of eight in royals, but no gold ; I suppose this belonged to a poorer man than the other, which seemed to belong to some officer.

Having now brought all my things on shore, and secured them, I went back to my boat, and rowed or paddled her along the shore to her old harbour, where I laid her up, and made the best of my way to my old habitation, where I found everything safe and quiet ; so I began to repose myself, live after my old fashion, and take care of my family affairs ; and for a while I lived easy enough, only that I was more vigilant than I used to be, looked out oftener, and did not go

abroad so much : and if any time I did stir with any freedom, it was always to the east part of the island, where I was pretty well satisfied the savages never came, and where I could go without so many precautions, and such a load of arms and ammunition as I always carried with me, if I went the other way.

One night, in the rainy season, in March, the four-and-twentieth year of my first setting foot in this land of solitariness, I had the following dream ; namely, that as I was going out in the morning, as usual, from my castle, I saw upon the shore two canoes, and eleven savages coming to land, and that they brought with them another savage, whom they were going to kill, in order to eat him, when on a sudden the savage that they were going to kill, made his escape, and ran for his life : and then I thought in my sleep, that he came running into my little grove, before my fortification, to hide himself ; and that I seeing him, and not perceiving that the others sought him that way, showed myself to him, and encouraged him ; that he kneeled down to me, seeming to pray to me to assist him ; upon which I showed him my ladder, made him go up, and carried him into my cave, and he became my servant ; and that as soon as I had got this man, I said to myself, " Now I may venture to the main land, for this fellow will serve me as a pilot, and tell me what to do, and whither to go for provisions, and whither not to go for fear of being devoured ; what places to venture into, and what to escape." I awoke with this thought, and was under such inexpressible impressions of joy at the prospect of my escape in my dream, that the disappointment I felt upon coming to myself, and finding it was no more than a dream, was really extravagant the other way, and threw me into a very great dejection of spirits.

Upon this, however, I made this conclusion, that my only way to go about an attempt for an escape, was to try to get a savage in my possession ; and, if possible, it should be one of their prisoners, whom they had condemned to be eaten, and should bring hither to kill.

With these resolutions in my thoughts, I set myself upon the scout, as often as possible, and indeed so often, till I was heartily tired of it. I was not at first more careful to shun the sight of these savages, and avoid being seen by them, than I was now eager to be upon them.

Besides, I fancied myself able to manage one, nay, two or three savages, if I had them, so as to make them entirely slaves to me, to do what I should direct them, and to prevent their being able at any time to do me any hurt. It was a great while that I pleased myself with this affair ; but nothing still presented ; all my fancies and schemes came to nothing, for no savages came near me for a great while.

About a year and a half after I had entertained these notions, and by long musing had, as it were, resolved to put them into execution, I was surprised one morning early with seeing no less than five canoes all on shore together, on my side of the island, and the people who belonged to them all landed. The number of them broke all my measures, for seeing so many, and knowing that they always came four, or sometimes more, in a boat, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to take my measures to attack twenty or thirty men single-handed, so I lay still in my castle, perplexed and discomforted. However, I put myself into all the same postures for an attack that I had formerly provided, and was just ready for action, if anything had presented. Having waited a good while, listening to hear if they made any noise, at length, being very impatient, I set my guns at the foot of my ladder, and clambered up to the top of the hill by my two stages, as usual, standing so, however, that my head did not appear above the hill ; so that they could not perceive me by any means. I here observed, by the help of my perspective glass, that they were no less than thirty in number, that they had a fire kindled, and that they had meat dressed ; how they cooked it, that I knew not, or what it was : but they were all dancing, in I know not how many barbarous gestures and figures, round the fire.

While I was thus looking on them, I perceived, by my perspective glass, two miserable wretches dragged from the boats, where, it seems, they were laid by, and were now brought out for the slaughter. I perceived one of them immediately fall, being knocked down, I suppose, with a club, or wooden sword, for that was their way ; and two or three others were at work, cutting him open for their cookery, while the other victim was left standing by himself, till they should be ready for him. In that very moment this poor wretch seeing himself a little at liberty, nature inspired him with hopes of life, and he started away from them, and ran with incredible swiftness along the sands, directly towards me, I mean towards that part of the coast where my habitation was.

I was dreadfully frightened (that I must acknowledge,) when I perceived him to run my way, and especially when, as I thought, I saw him pursued by the whole body ; and I expected that part of my dream was coming to pass, and that he would take shelter in my grove : but I could not depend, by any means, upon my dream for the rest of it, namely, that the savages would not pursue him thither, and find him there. However, I kept my station, and my spirits began to recover when I found that there were not above three men that followed him ; and still more was I encouraged, when I found that he outstripped

them exceedingly in running, and gained ground of them, so that if he could but hold out for half an hour, I saw he would fairly get away from them all.

There was between them and my castle, the creek, which I mentioned often at the first part of my story, when I landed my cargoes out of the ship: and this I knew he must necessarily swim over, or the poor wretch would be taken there; but when the savage who was escaping, came thither, he made nothing of it, though the tide was then up, but plunging in, he swam through it in about thirty strokes, or thereabouts,



landed, and ran on with exceeding strength and swiftness. When the three pursuers came to the creek, I found that two of them could swim, but the third could not, and that he, standing on the other side, looked at the others, but went no further, and soon after went softly back again, which, as it happened, was very well for him.

I observed that the two who swam were yet twice as long swimming over the creek, as the fellow was that fled from them. It came now very warmly upon my thoughts, and indeed irresistibly, that now was my time to get me a servant, and perhaps, a companion or assistant, and that I was called plainly by Providence to save this poor creature's life. I immediately got down the ladders, fetched my two guns, for they were both at the foot of the ladders, and getting up again with the same haste to the top of the hill, I crossed towards the sea; and, having a very short cut, and all down hill, clapped myself in the way between the pursuers and the pursued, hallooing aloud to him that fled,



CRUSOE RESCUES FRIDAY

sooner had it than he ran to his enemy, and, at one blow, cut off his head so cleverly, no executioner in Germany could have done it sooner or better ; which I thought very strange for one who, I had reason to believe, never saw a sword in his life before, except their own wooden swords. However, it seems, as I learned afterwards, they make their wooden swords so sharp, so heavy, and the wood is so hard, that they will cut off heads and arms with them, and at one blow too. When he had done this, he came laughing to me in sign of triumph, and brought me the sword again, and laid it down, with the head of the savage he had killed, just before me.

He was astonished how I had killed the other Indian, so far off ; and going to him, he stood like one amazed, looking at him, turning him, first on one side, then on the other ; looked at the wound the bullet had made, which was in the breast, where it had made a hole, and no great quantity of blood had followed, but he had bled inwardly, for he was quite dead. Then he took up his bow and arrows, and came back, and I beckoned for us to go away, making signs that more might come after them. Upon this, he signed to me, that he should bury them with sand, that they might not be seen by the rest, if they followed ; so I made signs for him to do so ; he fell to work, and had them both buried in the sand in about a quarter of an hour. I then called him away, and took him not to my castle, but my cave, on the farther part of the island ; so I did not let my dream come to pass in that respect, namely, that he came into my grove for shelter. Here I gave him bread, and a bunch of raisins to eat, and a draught of water, which he was in great distress for, by his running ; and having refreshed him, I made signs for him to go to sleep, pointing to a place where I had laid a great parcel of rice-straw, and a blanket upon it, which I used to sleep upon myself sometimes ; so the poor creature lay down, and went to sleep.

He was a comely handsome fellow, perfectly well made, tall, and well-shaped, and, as I reckon, about twenty-six years of age. He had a very good countenance, not a fierce and surly aspect, but seemed to have something very manly in his face, and yet he had all the sweetness and softness of an European in his countenance too, especially when he smiled. His hair was long and black, not curled like wool, his forehead very high and large, and a great vivacity and sparkling sharpness in his eyes. The colour of his skin was not quite black, but very tawny, and yet not of an ugly, yellow, nauseous tawny, as the *Brasilians*, and *Virginians*, and other natives of *America* are, but of a bright kind of a dun olive colour, that had in it something very agreeable,

though not very easy to describe. His face was round and plump, his nose small, not flat like the negroes, a very good mouth, thin lips, and his teeth fine, well set, and white as ivory. After he had slumbered about half an hour, he waked, and came out of the cave to me, for I had been milking the goats in the enclosure just by. When he espied me, he came running, and laid himself on the ground again, with all the possible signs of an humble, thankful disposition, making many antic gestures to show it. At last he lays his head flat upon the ground, close to my foot, and sets my other foot upon his head, as he had done before, and after this, made all the signs to me of subjection, servitude, and submission imaginable, to let me know how much he would serve me as long as he lived. I understood him in many things, and let him know I was well pleased with him. In a little time I began to speak to him, and teach him to speak to me ; and first, made him know his name should be Friday, which was the day I saved his life. I likewise taught him to say, "Master," and then let him know that was to be my name. I also taught him to say, "Yes," and "No," and to know the meaning of them. I gave him some milk in an earthen pot, and some bread, and let him see me drink some before him, and sop my bread in it, which he quickly imitated, and made signs that it was very good for him.



I kept there with him all that night ; but as soon as it was day, I took him away with me. As we went by the place where he had buried the two men, he pointed exactly to the spot, and showed me the marks he had made to find them again, making signs to me that we

should dig them up and eat them : at this I appeared very angry, expressed my abhorrence of it, made as if I would vomit at the thoughts of it, and beckoned with my hand to him to come away, which he immediately did, with great submission. I then led him to the top of the hill, to see if his enemies were gone, and pulling out my glass, I looked, and saw plainly the place where they had been, but no appearance of them, or their canoes ; so they were quite gone.

I then took my man Friday with me, giving him the sword in his hand, with the bow and arrows at his back, which I found he could use very dexterously, making him carry one gun for me, and I two for myself, and away we marched to the place where these creatures had been. When I came there, my very blood ran chill in my veins, and my heart sunk within me at the horror of the spectacle. Indeed, it was a dreadful sight ; the place was covered with human bones, the ground dyed with the blood, great pieces of flesh left here and there, half eaten, mangled, and scorched, and, in short, all the tokens of the triumphant feast they had been making there, after a victory over their enemies. I saw three skulls, five hands, and the bones of three or four legs and feet, and abundance of other parts of the bodies ; and Friday, by his signs, made me understand, that they brought over four prisoners to feast upon, that three of them were eaten, and that he, pointing to himself, was the fourth ; that there had been a great battle between them and their next king, whose subjects it seems he had been one of, and that they had taken a great number of prisoners, all of which were carried to several places by those that had taken them in the fight, in order to feast upon them, as was done here by these wretches.

I caused Friday to gather all the bones and flesh that remained, and lay them together in a heap, and burn them to ashes. I found that he had still a hankering stomach after the flesh, and was still a cannibal in his nature, but I displayed such abhorrence at the very thoughts of it, that he durst not discover it ; for I let him know that I would kill him if he offered it.

When we had done this, we came back to our castle, where I gave Friday first of all a pair of linen drawers, which I had out of the poor gunner's chest I found in the wreck, and which, with a little alteration, fitted him very well ; then I made him a jerkin of goat's skin, as well as I was able ; and I gave him a cap, which I had made of a hare's skin ; and thus he was dressed, for the present, tolerably well ; and mighty well was he pleased to see himself almost as well clothed as his master. He went awkwardly in these things at first ; wearing the

drawers was very awkward to him, and the sleeves of the jerkin galled his shoulders, and the inside of his arms ; but he soon got used to them.

The next day after I came home to my hut with him, I began to consider where I should lodge him : so I made a little tent for him in the vacant place between the two fortifications, in the inside of the last, and in the outside of the first ; and as there was an entrance there into my cave, I made a formal framed door-case, and a door to it of boards, and set it up in the passage, a little within the entrance, and causing the door to open in the inside, I barred it up in the night, taking in my ladders too ; so that Friday could no way come at me in the inside of my innermost wall, without making so much noise in getting over, that it must needs awaken me, for my first wall had now a complete roof over it of long poles, covering all my tent, and leaning up to the side of the hill, which was again laid across with small sticks instead of laths, and then thatched over a great thickness with the rice straw, which was strong like reeds ; and at the hole or place which was left to go in or out by the ladder, I had placed a kind of trap-door, which, if it had been attempted on the outside, would not have opened at all, but would have fallen down, and made a great noise. I took care to take all the weapons into my side every night.

But I needed none of these precautions, for never was a more faithful, loving, sincere servant than Friday was to me ; without passions, sullenness, or designs ; his very affections were tied to me, like those of a child to its father, and, I dare say, he would have sacrificed his life for the saving of my own, upon any occasion whatever.

I was greatly delighted with him, and made it my business to teach him everything that was proper and useful, and especially to make him speak, and understand me when I spoke : and he was a very apt scholar, and he was so merry, so diligent, and so pleased when he could understand me, or make me understand him, that it was very pleasant for me to talk to him. And now my life began to be very easy and happy.

After I had been two or three days returned to my castle, I thought, that in order to bring Friday off from his horrid way of feeding, and from the relish of a cannibal's stomach, I ought to let him taste other flesh. So I took him out with me one morning to the woods, and I saw a she-goat lying down in the shade, and two young kids close by her. I caught hold of Friday ; "Hold," said I ; "stand still ;" and made signs to him not to stir ; immediately I presented my piece, shot, and killed one of the kids. The poor creature who had, at a distance

indeed, seen me kill the savage, his enemy, but did not know, nor could imagine, how it was done, was sensibly surprised, trembled, and shook, and looked so amazed, that I thought he would have sunk down. He did not see the kid I had shot at, nor perceived I had killed it, but ripped up his waistcoat to feel if he was not wounded ; and, as I found, thought I was resolved to kill him ; for he came and kneeled down to me, and embracing my knees, said a great many things I did not understand, but I could see that his meaning was to pray to me not to kill him.

I soon found a way to convince him that I would do him no harm ; and, taking him up by the hand, laughed at him, and pointing to the kid I had killed, beckoned to him to run and fetch it, which he did ; and while he was looking to see how the creature was killed, I loaded my gun again, and by-and-by I saw a great fowl, like a hawk, sit upon a tree within shot ; so, to let Friday understand a little what I would do, I called him to me again, pointing at the fowl, which was a parrot, though I thought it had been a hawk ; I say, pointing to the parrot and to my gun, and to the ground under the parrot, to let him see I would make him fall, I made him understand that I would shoot and



kill that bird ; accordingly I fired, and bade him look, and immediately he saw the parrot fall. He stood like one frightened again, notwithstanding all I had said to him ; and I found he was the more amazed, because he did not see me put anything into the gun ; but thought there must be some wonderful fund of death and destruction in that

thing, able to kill man, beast, bird, or any other thing, near or far off ; and I believe, if I would have let him, he would have worshipped me and my gun ; as for the gun itself, he would not so much as touch it for several days after, but would speak to it, and talk to it, as if it had answered him, which, as I afterwards learned of him, was to desire it not to kill him.

Well, after his astonishment was a little over at this, I pointed to him to run and fetch the bird I had shot, which he did, but staid some time, for the parrot, not being quite dead, was fluttered a good way off from the place where she fell. However, he found her, took her up, and brought her to me ; and, as I had perceived his ignorance about the gun before, I took this advantage to charge the gun again, and not let him see me do it, that I might be ready for any other mark, but nothing offered at that time. So I brought home the kid, and the same evening took the skin off, and cut it up as well as I could ; and having a pot for that purpose, I boiled or stewed some of the flesh, and made some very good broth. After I had begun to eat some, I gave some to my man, who seemed very glad of it, and liked it very well ; but that which was strangest to him, was to see me eat salt with it. He made a sign to me that the salt was not good to eat, and putting a little into his own mouth, he seemed to nauseate it, and would spit and sputter at it, washing his mouth with fresh water after it. On the other hand, I took some meat in my mouth without salt, and I pretended to spit and sputter for want of salt, as fast as he had done at it, but it would not do.

Having thus fed him with boiled meat and broth, I was resolved to feast him the next day with roasting a piece of the kid ; this I did by hanging it before the fire in a string, as I had seen many people do in England, setting two poles up, one on each side of the fire, and one across the top, and tying the string to the cross stick, letting the meat turn continually. This Friday admired much ; but when he came to taste the flesh, he took so many ways to tell me how well he liked it, that I could not but understand him ; and at last he told me he would never eat man's flesh any more, which I was very glad to hear.

The next day I set him to work to beating some corn out, and sifting it in the manner I used to do ; and he soon understood how to do it as well as I, especially after he had seen what the meaning of it was, and that it was to make bread of ; for after that I let him see me make my bread, and bake it too ; and in a little time Friday was able to do all the work for me as well as I could do it myself.

I began now to consider that having two mouths to feed instead of

one, I must provide more ground for my harvest, and plant a larger quantity of corn than I used to do, so I marked out a larger piece of land, and began the fence in the same manner as before, in which Friday not only worked very hard, but very cheerfully ; and I told him that it was for corn to make more bread, because he was now with me, and that I might have enough for him and myself too. He appeared very sensible of that part, and let me know that he would work the harder for me, if I would tell him what to do.

This was the pleasantest year of all the life I led in this place. Friday began to talk pretty well, and understand the names of almost everything I had occasion to call for, and of every place I had occasion to send him to, and talk a great deal to me ; so that, in short, I began to have some use for my tongue again. Besides the pleasure of talking to him, I had a singular satisfaction in the fellow himself : his simple, unfeigned honesty appeared to be more and more every day, and I began really to love the creature ; and I believe he loved me as much as possible.

I had a mind once to try if he had any hankering inclination to his own country ; and having learned him English so well that he could answer me almost any questions, I asked him whether the nation that he belonged to never conquered in battle. At which he smiled, and said, "Yes, yes ; we always fight the better : " that is, he meant, always get the better in fight : and so we began the following discourse : "You always fight the better !" said I ; "how came you to be taken prisoner, then, Friday ? "

Friday. My nation beat much for all that.

Master. How beat ? If your nation beat them, how came you to be taken ?

Friday. They more than my nation in the place where me was : they take one, two, three, and me. My nation over-beat them in yonder place, where me no was ; there my nation take one, two, great thousand.

Master. But why did not your side recover you from the hands of your enemies, then ?

Friday. They run one, two, three, and me, and make go in the canoe : my nation have no canoe that time.

Master. Well, Friday, and what does your nation do with the men they take ? Do they carry them away and eat them, as these did ?

Friday. Yes, my nation eat mans too, eat all up.

Master. Where do they carry them ?

Friday. Go to other place, where they think.

Master. Do they come hither ?

Friday. Yes, yes, they come hither : come other else place.

Master. Have you been here with them ?

Friday. Yes, I been here. (Points to the N.W. side of the island, which it seems was their side.)

By this I understood that my man Friday had formerly been among the savages, who had used to come on shore on the farther parts of the island, on the said man-eating occasions that he had been now brought for : and some time after, when I took courage to carry him to that side, he presently knew the place, and told me he was there once when they eat up twenty men, two women, and one child.

After I had had this discourse with him, I asked him how far it was from our island to the shore ; whether the canoes were not often lost ? He told me that there was no danger, no canoes ever lost ; but that, after a little way out to sea, there was a current, and a wind always one way in the morning, the other in the afternoon.

This I thought to be no more than the sets of the tide, as going out or coming in ; but I afterwards understood it was occasioned by the great draught and reflux of the mighty river Oroonoke ; in the mouth of which river, as I thought afterwards, our island lay ; and that this land, which I perceived to the W. and N.W., was the great island Trinidad, on the north point of the mouth of the river. I asked Friday a thousand questions about the country, the inhabitants, the sea, the coast, and what nations were near : he told me all he knew, with the greatest openness imaginable. I asked him the names of the several nations of his sort of people, but could get no other names than Caribs ; from whence I easily understood that these were the Caribbees, which our maps place on that part of America which reaches from the mouth of the river Oroonoke to Guiana, and onwards to St. Martha. He told me that up a great way beyond the moon, which must be west from their country, there dwelt white, bearded men, like me, and pointed to my great whiskers, which I mentioned before, and that they had killed "much mans," that was his word. By all which I understood he meant the Spaniards, whose cruelties in America had been spread over whole countries, and were remembered by all the nations from father to son.

I inquired if he could tell me how I might come from this island, and get among those white men ? He told me yes, yes, I might go in "two canoe." I could not understand what he meant by "two canoe," till at last, with difficulty, I found he meant that it must be a large boat, as big as two canoes.

This part of Friday's discourse began to relish with me very well ;

and from this time I entertained some hopes that, one time or other, I might find an opportunity to make my escape from this place, and that this poor savage might be a means to help me to do it.

I was now wanting to lay a foundation of religious knowledge in Friday's mind ; particularly I asked him one time who made him. The poor creature did not understand me, but thought I had asked him who was his father. But I took it another way, and asked him who made the sea, the ground he walked on, and the hills and woods. He told me it was one old Benamuckee, that lived beyond all. He could describe nothing of this great person, but that he was very old ; much older, he said, than the sea or the land, than the moon or the stars. I asked him then, if this person had made all things, why did not all things worship him ? He looked very grave, and with a perfect look of innocence said, "All things said O to him." I asked him if the people who die in his country went away anywhere. He said, yes, they all went to Benamuckee. Then I asked him whether those they eat up went thither too. He said, "Yes."

From these things I began to instruct him in the knowledge of the true God. I told him that the great Maker of all things lived up there, pointing up towards heaven : that he governs the world by the same power and providence by which he had made it : that he was omnipotent, could do everything for us, give everything to us, take everything from us : and thus, by degrees, I opened his eyes. He listened with great attention, and received with pleasure the notion of Jesus Christ being sent to redeem us, and of the manner of making our prayers to God, and his being able to hear us, even into heaven. He told me one day, that if our God could hear us up beyond the sun, he must needs be a greater God than their Benamuckee, who lived but a little way off, and yet could not hear till they went up to the great mountains where he dwelt, to speak to him. I asked him if ever he went thither to speak to him. He said, no ; they never went that were young men ; none went thither but the old men, whom he called their Oowokakee, that is, as I made him explain it to me, their religious, or clergy ; and that they went to say O (so he called saying prayers), and then came back, and told them what Benamuckee said. By this I observed that there is priestcraft even amongst the most blinded ignorant pagans in the world.

Sending him for something a great way off, I seriously prayed to God that he would enable me to instruct this poor savage, assisting by his Spirit the heart of the poor ignorant creature to receive the light of the knowledge of God in Christ, reconciling him to himself, and would

guide me to speak so to him from the word of God, as his conscience might be convinced, his eyes opened, and his soul saved. When he came again to me, I entered into a long discourse with him upon the subject of the redemption of man, by the Saviour of the world, and of the doctrine of the gospel preached from heaven, namely, of repentance towards God, and faith in our blessed Lord Jesus. I then explained to him, as well as I could, why our blessed Redeemer took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, and how, for that reason, the fallen angels had no share in the redemption, that he came only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and the like.

I had, God knows, more sincerity than knowledge, in all the methods I took for this poor creature's instruction, and must acknowledge what



I believe all that act upon the same principle will find, that, in laying things open to him, I really informed and instructed myself in many things that I either did not know or had not fully considered before, but which occurred naturally to my mind, upon my searching into them for the information of this poor savage : and I had more affection in my inquiry after things upon this occasion than ever I felt before ; so that whether this poor wild wretch was the better for me or no, I had great reason to be thankful that ever he came to me ; my grief sat lighter upon me, my habitation grew comfortable to me beyond measure, and when I reflected, that, in this solitary life which I had been confined to, I had not only been moved myself to look up to heaven, and to seek to the hand that brought me thither, but was now to be made an

instrument, under Providence, to save the life, and for aught I knew, the soul, of a poor savage, and bring him to the true knowledge of religion, and of the Christian doctrine, that he might know Christ Jesus, "to know whom is life eternal."

In this thankful frame I continued all the remainder of my time, and the conversation which employed the hours between Friday and me was such as made the three years, which we lived there together, perfectly and completely happy, if any such thing as complete happiness can be found in a sublunary state. The savage was now a good Christian, a much better than I, though I have reason to hope, and bless God for it, that we were equally penitent, and comforted restored penitents. We had here the word of God to read, and no farther off from his Spirit to instruct, than if we had been in England. I always applied myself to reading the Scriptures, and to let him know, as well as I could, the meaning of what I read.

After Friday and I became more intimately acquainted, and that he could understand almost all I said to him, and speak fluently, though in broken English, to me, I acquainted him with my history. I let him into the mystery of gunpowder and bullets, and taught him how to shoot. I gave him a knife, which he was wonderfully delighted with, and I made him a belt with a frog hanging to it, such as in England we wear hangers in, and in the frog, instead of a hanger, I gave him a hatchet.

I described to him the countries of Europe, and particularly England, which I came from; how we lived, how we worshipped God, how we behaved to one another, and how we traded in ships to all parts of the world. I gave him an account of the wreck which I had been on board of, and showed him, as near as I could, the place where she lay; but she had all been gone long ago.

I showed him the ruins of our boat, which we lost when I escaped, and which was now fallen almost to pieces. Upon seeing this boat, Friday stood musing some time, and said nothing. I asked him what he studied upon; at last, says he, "Me see such boat like come to place at my nation."

I did not understand him a good while; but at last, when I had examined farther into it, I understood by him, that a boat, such as that had been, came on shore upon the country where he lived; that is, as he explained it, was driven thither by stress of weather. I presently imagined, that some European ship must have been cast away upon their coast, and the boat might get loose, and drive ashore; but was so dull that I never once thought of men making their escape from a

wreck thither, much less whence they might come, so I only inquired after a description of the boat.

Friday described the boat to me well enough ; but brought me better to understand him when he added, with some warmth, " We save the white mans from drown." Then I presently asked him if there were any white mans, as he called them, in the boat : " Yes," he said, " the boat full of white mana." I asked him, " How many ! " He told me upon his fingers seventeen. I asked him " What became of them ? " He told me, " They live, they dwell at my nation."

This put new thoughts into my head again, for I presently imagined, that these might be the men belonging to the ship that was cast away in sight of my island, and who, after the ship was struck on the rock, and they saw her inevitably lost, had saved themselves in their boat, and were landed upon that wild shore among savages.

Upon this I inquired of him more critically, what was become of them ; he assured me they still lived there, that they had been there about four years, that the savages let them alone, and gave them victuals to live. I asked him, how it came to pass that they did not kill them, and eat them. He said, " No, they make brother with them," that is, as I understood him, a truce ; and then he added, " They no eat mans, but when make the war fight ; " that is to say, they never eat any men, but such as come to fight with them, and are taken in battle.

It was after this, some considerable time, that being on the top of the hill, at the east side of the island, from whence I had, in a clear day, discovered the main, or continent of America, Friday, the weather being very serene, looks very earnestly towards the main land, and in a kind of surprise, falls a jumping and dancing, and calls out to me ; I asked him what was the matter. " O joy," says he, " O glad ! There see my country ! there my nation ! "

I observed an extraordinary sense of pleasure appear in his face, his eyes sparkled, and his countenance discovered a strange eagerness, as if he had a mind to be in his own country again ; and this observation of mine put a great many thoughts into me, which made me at first not so easy about my new man Friday as I was before ; and I made no doubt, but that if Friday could get back to his own nation again, he would not only forget all his religion, but all his obligations to me.

But I wronged the poor honest creature very much, for which I was very sorry afterwards ; however, as my jealousy increased, and held me some weeks, I was a little more circumspect, and not so familiar and kind to him as before, in which I was certainly in the wrong.

Whilst my jealousy of him lasted, I was every day pumping him, to see if he would discover any of the new thoughts, which I suspected were in him ; but I found everything he said was honest, and so innocent, that I could find nothing to nourish my suspicion, and, in spite of all my uneasiness, he made me at last entirely his own again ; nor did he in the least perceive that I was uneasy, and therefore I could not suspect him of deceit.

One day walking up the same hill, but the weather being hazy at sea, so that we could not see the continent, I called to him and said, "Friday, do not you wish yourself in your own country, your own nation ?" "Yes," he said ; "I be much glad to be at my own nation." "What would you do there?" said I ; "would you turn wild again, eat man's flesh again, and be savage as you were before ?" He looked full of concern, and shaking his head, said, "No, no ; Friday tell them to live good, tell them to pray God, tell them to eat corn-bread, cattle-flesh, milk ; no eat man again." "Why, then," said I to him, "they will kill you." He looked grave at that, and then said, "No, they no kill me ; they willing love learn." He meant by this they would be willing to learn ; he added they learned much of the bearded mans that came in the boat. Then I asked if he would go back to them. He smiled at that, and told me he could not swim so far. I told him I would make a canoe for him. He told me he would go, if I would go with him. "I go," said I, "why they will eat me if I come there." "No, no," said he, "me make them no eat you ; me make they much love you." He meant he would tell them how I had killed his enemies, and saved his life, and so he would make them much love me.

From this time, I confess, I had a mind to venture over, and see if I could possibly join with these bearded men, who, I made no doubt, were Spaniards or Portuguese ; not doubting but, if I could, we might find some method to escape from thence, being upon the continent, and a good company together, better than I could from an island, forty miles off the shore, and alone without help. So, after some days I took Friday to work again, by way of discourse, and told him I would give him a boat to go back to his own nation ; and accordingly carried him to my frigate, which lay on the other side of the island, and having cleared it of the water, I brought it out, showed it him, and we both went into it.

I found he was very dexterous at managing it, and would make it go almost as swift again as I could ; so I said to him, "Well, now, Friday, shall we go to your nation ?" He looked very dull at my saying so, which, it seems, was because he thought the boat was too small to go

so far. I told him then I had a bigger ; so the very next day I went to the place where the first boat lay, which I had made, but which I could not get into the water. He said that was big enough ; but as I had taken no care of it, and it had lain two or three-and-twenty years there, the sun had split and dried it, that it was in a manner rotten. Friday told me that such a boat would do very well, and would carry "much enough vittle, drink, bread ;" that was his way of talking.

Upon the whole, I was by this time so fixed upon my design of going over with him to the continent, that I told him we would go and make one as big as that, and he should go home in it. He answered not one word, but looked very grave and sad. I asked him what was the matter with him. He asked me again thus,—“ Why you angry mad



with Friday ? What me done ?” I asked him what he meant : I told him I was not angry with him at all. “ No angry ! no angry !” says he, repeating the words several times, “ why send Friday home away to my nation ?” “ Why,” said I, “ Friday, did you not say you wished you were there ?” “ Yes, yes,” says he, “ wish we both there ; no wish Friday there, no master there.” In a word, he would not think of going there without me. “ You shall go without me ; leave me here to live by myself as I did before.” He looked confused at this, and running to one of the hatchets which he used to wear, he takes it up hastily, and gives it me. “ What must I do with this ?” said I to him. “ You take kill Friday,” says he. “ What must I kill you for ?” said I again. He returns very quick, “ What you sent Friday away for ?

Take kill Friday ; no send Friday away." As he spoke, tears stood in his eyes, and I was so affected, that I said I would never send him away, if he was willing to stay with me.

I found that all the foundation of his desire to go to his own country was laid in his ardent affection to the people, and his hopes of my doing them good : a thing, which as I had no notion of myself, so I had not the least thought, or intention, or desire of undertaking it. But still I found a strong inclination to attempting an escape, as above, founded on the supposition gathered from the former discourse, namely, that there were seventeen bearded men there ; and therefore, without any more delay, I went to work with Friday, to find out a great tree proper to fell, and make a large periagua, or canoe, for the voyage. After searching some time, Friday at last pitched upon a tree, for I found he knew much better than I what kind of wood was fittest for it ; nor can I tell, to this day, what wood to call the tree we cut down, except that it was very like the tree we call fustic, or between that and the Nicaragua wood, for it was much of the same colour and smell. Friday was for burning the hollow or cavity of this tree out, to make it into a boat, but I showed him how rather to cut it out with tools, which after I showed him how to use he did it very handily, and in about a month's hard labour we finished it, and made it very handsome, especially when with our axes, which I showed him how to handle, we cut and hewed the outside into the true shape of a boat. After this, however, it cost us near a fortnight's time to get her along, as it were, inch by inch, upon great rollers, into the water ; but when she was in, she would have carried twenty men with ease.

It amazed me to see with what dexterity, and how swift my man Friday would manage her, turn her, and paddle her along. So I asked him if he would, and if we might venture over in her. "Yes," he said, "me venture over in her very well, though great blow wind." However, I had a farther design that he knew nothing of, and that was to make a mast and a sail, and to fit her with an anchor and cable. As to the mast, that was easy enough to get, so I pitched upon a straight young cedar tree, which I found near the place, and which there was plenty of in the island ; and I set Friday to work to cut it down, and gave him directions how to shape and order it ; but as to the sail, that was my particular care. I knew I had pieces of old sails, but as I had had them now twenty-six years by me, and not being very careful to preserve them, they were nearly all rotten. However, I found two pieces which appeared pretty good, and with a great deal of pains and awkward, tedious stitching, for want of needles, I at length made a

three-cornered ugly thing, like what we call in England a shoulder-of-mutton sail, to go with a boom at the bottom, and a little short sprit at the top, such as usually our ships' long boats sail with, and such as I best knew how to manage, because it was such a one as I used in the boat in which I made my escape from Barbary.

I was near two months in rigging and fitting out my mast and sails; for I fitted them very complete, making a small stay, and a sail, or foresail to it, to assist, if we should turn to windward; and, which was more than all, I fixed a rudder to the stern of her to steer with, and though I was but a bungling shipwright, yet, as I knew the usefulness and even necessity of such a thing, I applied myself with so much pains to do it, that at last I brought it to pass.

After all this was done, I had my man Friday to teach as to what belonged to the navigation of my boat; for though he knew very well how to paddle the canoe, he knew nothing what belonged to a sail and a rudder, and how the sail gibbed, and filled this way or that way, as the course we sailed changed; I say, when he saw this, he stood like one astonished and amazed. However, with a little use, I made all these things familiar to him, and he became an expert sailor, except that as to the compass I could make him understand very little of that; but there was not much occasion for the compass in these parts.

I was now entered on the seven-and-twentieth year of my captivity in this place; though the three last years that I had this creature with me ought rather to be left out of the account, my habitation being quite of another kind than in all the rest of the time. I kept the anniversary of my landing here with the same thankfulness to God for his mercies as at first; and if I had such cause of acknowledgment at first, I had much more so now, having such additional testimonies of the care of Providence over me, and the great hopes I had of being effectually and speedily delivered; for I had an invincible impression upon my thoughts, that my deliverance was at hand, and that I should not be another year in this place. However, I went on with all my work as usual.

The rainy season was in the meantime upon me, when I kept more within doors than at other times; so I had stowed our new vessel as secure as we could, bringing her up into the creek, where, as I said in the beginning, I landed my rafts from the ship; and thus we waited for the months of November and December, in which I designed to make my adventure.

When the settled season began to come in, the first thing I did was to lay by a certain quantity of provisions, being the store for our voyage;

and I intended in a week or a fortnight's time to open the dock and launch out our boat. I was busy one morning upon something of this kind, when I called to Friday, and bade him go to the sea-shore, and see if he could find a turtle or tortoise—a thing which we generally got once a week for the sake of the eggs, as well as the flesh. Friday had not been long gone, when he came running back, and flew over my outward wall, or fence, like one that felt not the ground; and before I had time to speak to him, he cried out to me, "O master! O master! O sorrow! O bad!" "What's the matter, Friday?" said I. "O yonder there," says he, "one, two, three canoe! one, two, three!" By this way of speaking, I concluded there were six; but, on inquiry, I found there were but three. "Well, Friday," said I, "do not be frightened;" so I heartened him up as well as I could. However, I saw the poor fellow was most terribly scared, for nothing ran in his head but that they were come to look for him, and would cut him in pieces and eat him; and the poor fellow trembled so, that I scarce knew what to do with him. I comforted him as well as I could, and told him I was in as much danger as he, and that they would eat me as well as him. "But," said I, "Friday, we must resolve to fight them. Can you fight, Friday?" "Me shoot," says he; "but there come many great number." "No matter for that," said I again, "our guns will fright them that we do not kill." So I asked him whether, if I resolved to defend him, he would defend me, and stand by me, and do just as I bade him. He said, "Me die when you bid die, master." So I gave him a good dram of rum; and when he had drunk it, I made him take the two fowling-pieces, and load them with swan-shot, as big as small pistol-bullets; then I took four muskets, and loaded them with two slugs and five small bullets each; and my two pistols I loaded with a brace of bullets each. I hung my great sword, as usual, naked by my side, and gave Friday his hatchet.

When I had thus prepared myself I took my perspective glass, and went up to the side of the hill to see what I could discover, and I found quickly by my glass that there were twenty-one savages, three prisoners, and three canoes; and that their whole business seemed to be the triumphant banquet upon these three human bodies; but nothing more than as I had observed as usual with them.

They were landed, not where they had done when Friday made his escape, but nearer to my creek, where the shore was low, and where a thick wood came close almost down to the sea. This, with the abhorrence of the inhuman errand these wretches came about, so filled me with indignation, that I came down to Friday, and told him I was

resolved to go down to them and kill them all, and asked him if he would stand by me. He had now gotten over his fright, and his spirits being a little raised with the dram I had given him, he was very cheerful, and told me as before, "He would die when I bid die."

In this fit of fury, I took first and divided the arms which I had charged, as before, between us. I gave Friday one pistol to stick in his girdle, and three guns upon his shoulder; and I took one pistol and the other three myself, and in this posture we marched out. I took a small bottle of rum in my pocket, and gave Friday a large bag with more powder and bullets; and as to orders, I charged him to keep close behind me, and not to stir, or shoot, or do anything till I bade him; and, in the meantime, not to speak a word. In this posture I fetched a compass to my right hand of near a mile, as well to get over the creek as to get into the wood, so that I might come within a shot of them before I should be discovered, which I had seen by my glass it was easy to do.

I entered the wood with all possible wariness and silence (Friday following close at my heels), and marched till I came to the skirt of the wood, on the side which was next to them, only that one corner of the wood lay between me and them. Here I called softly to Friday, and showing him a great tree, which was just at the corner of the wood, I bade him go to the tree, and bring me word if he could see there plainly what they were doing. He did so, and came immediately back to me, and told me they might be plainly viewed there; that they were all about the fire, eating the flesh of one of their prisoners, and that another lay bound upon the sand, a little from them, whom, he said, they would kill next, and which fired the very soul within me. He told me it was not one of their own nation, but one of the bearded men whom he had told me of, that came to their country in the boat. I was filled with horror at the very naming the white, bearded man, and going to the tree, I saw plainly by my glass a white man, who lay upon the beach of the sea, with his hands and feet tied with flags, or things like rushes, and that he was an European, and had clothes on.

There was another tree, and a little thicket beyond it, about fifty yards nearer to them than the place where I was, which, by going a little way about, I saw I might come at undiscovered, and that then I should be within half a shot of them. So I withheld my passion, and, going back about twenty paces, I got behind some bushes, which held all the way till I came to the other tree, and then I came to a little rising ground, which gave me a full view of them, at the distance of about eighty yards.



CRUSOE RESCUES A SPANIARD



I had now not a moment to lose, for nineteen of the dreadful wretches sat upon the ground, all close huddled together, and had just sent the other two to butcher the poor Christian, and bring him, perhaps limb by limb, to their fire, and they were stooped down to untie the bands at his feet. I turned to Friday: "Now, Friday," said I, "do as I bid thee." Friday said he would. "Then, Friday," said I, "do exactly as you see me do; fail in nothing." So I set down one of the muskets and the fowling-piece upon the ground, and Friday did the like by his; and with the other musket I took my aim at the savages, bidding him do the like: then asking him if he was ready, he said, "Yes." "Then fire at them," said I, and the same moment I fired also.

Friday took his aim so much the better than I, that on the side he shot he killed two of them and wounded three more; and, on my side, I killed one and wounded two. They were in a dreadful consternation; and all of them who were not hurt jumped up upon their feet immediately, but did not know which way to run or which way to look, for they knew not from whence their destruction came. Friday kept his eyes close upon me, that, as I bid him, he might observe what I did; so, as soon as the first shot was made, I threw down the piece and took up the fowling-piece, and Friday did the like: he sees me cock and present; he did the same again. "Are you ready, Friday?" said I. "Yes," said he. "Let fly, then," said I; and with that I fired again among the amazed wretches, and so did Friday; and as our pieces were now loaded with what I call swan-shot, or small pistol bullets, we

found only two drop ; but so many were wounded, that they ran about yelling and screaming like mad creatures, all bloody and wounded most of them, and three more fell quickly after, but not quite dead.

"Now, Friday," said I, laying down the discharged pieces and taking up the musket, which was yet loaded, "follow me," which he did with a deal of courage ; upon which I rushed out of the wood and showed myself, and Friday close at my foot. As soon as I perceived they saw me, I shouted as loud as I could, and bade Friday do so too ; and running as fast as I could, which, by the way, was not very fast, I made directly towards the poor victim, who was, as I said, lying upon the beach or shore, between the place where they sat and the sea. The two butchers, who were just going to work with him, had left him at the surprise of our first fire and fled, in a terrible fright, to the sea-side, and had jumped into a canoe, and three more of the rest made the same way. I turned to Friday, and bade him step forwards and fire at them. He understood me immediately, and, running about forty yards to be nearer them, he shot at them, and I thought he had killed them all, for I saw them all fall on a heap in the boat, though I saw two of them up again quickly. However, he killed two of them, and wounded the third, so that he lay in the bottom of the boat as if he had been dead.

While Friday fired at them, I pulled out my knife and cut the flags that bound the poor victim ; and loosing his hands and feet, I lifted him up, and asked him, in the Portuguese tongue, what he was. He answered in Latin, "Christianus ;" but was so weak and faint, that he could scarce stand or speak. I took my bottle out of my pocket and gave it him, making signs that he should drink, which he did ; and I gave him a piece of bread, which he eat. Then I asked him what countryman he was, and he said, "Espagniole ;" and, being a little recovered, let me know, by all the signs he could possibly make, how much he was in my debt for his deliverance. I said, in as good Spanish as I could, "We will talk afterwards, but we must fight now ; if you have any strength left, take the pistol and sword and lay about you." He took them very thankfully, and no sooner had he the arms in his hands, but, as if they put new vigour into him, he flew upon his murderers like a fury, and had cut two of them in pieces in an instant, for they were so surprised and frightened, that they could make no resistance, nor attempt to escape.

I kept my piece in my hand still, without firing, being willing to keep my charge ready, because I had given the Spaniard my pistol and sword ; so I called to Friday, and bade him run up to the tree from

whence we first fired, and fetch the arms which lay there that had been discharged, which he quickly did ; and then giving him my musket, I sat down to load all the rest again, and bade them come to me when they wanted. While I was loading these pieces, there happened a fierce engagement between the Spaniard and one of the savages, who made at him with one of their great wooden swords, the same weapon that was to have killed him before, if I had not prevented it. The Spaniard, who was very bold, though weak, had fought this Indian a good while, and had cut him two great wounds on his head ; but the savage, being a stout, lusty fellow, closing in with him, had thrown him down, and was wringing my sword out of his hand, when the Spaniard, though undermost, wisely quitted the sword, drew the pistol from his girdle, and shot him dead on the spot.

Friday, being now left at his liberty, pursued the flying wretches with no weapon in his hand but his hatchet ; and with that he dispatched those three who were wounded at first and fallen, and all the rest he could come up with ; and the Spaniard coming to me for a gun, I gave him one of the fowling-pieces, with which he pursued two of the savages, and wounded them both ; but as he was not able to run, they both got from him into the wood, where Friday pursued them, and killed one of them, but the other was too nimble for him ; and though he was wounded, yet had plunged into the sea, and swam with all his might off to those who were left in the canoe ; which three in the canoe, with one wounded, we know not whether he died or no, were all that escaped our hands of one-and-twenty.

Those that were in the canoe worked hard to get out of gun-shot ; and though Friday made two or three shots at them, I did not find that he hit any of them. Friday would fain have had me take one of their canoes and pursue them, and indeed I was very anxious about their escape, lest, carrying the news home to their people, they should come back, perhaps, with two or three hundred of their canoes, and devour us by mere multitude ; so I consented to pursue them by sea ; and running to one of their canoes, I jumped in, and bade Friday follow me ; but when I was in the canoe, I was surprised to find another poor creature lie there alive, bound hand and foot, as the Spaniard was, for the slaughter, and almost dead with fear, not knowing what the matter was, for he had not been able to look up over the side of the boat ; he was tied so hard, neck and heels, and had been tied so long, that he had little life in him.

I immediately cut the twisted flags, or rushes, that bound him, and would have helped him up ; but he could not stand or speak, but

groaned most piteously, believing, it seems, still, that he was only unbound in order to be killed. When Friday came, I bade him speak to him, and tell him of his deliverance ; and pulling out my bottle, made him give the poor wretch a dram, which, with the news of his being delivered, revived him, and he sat up in the boat. But when Friday came to hear him speak, and looked in his face, it would have moved any one to tears to have seen how Friday kissed him, embraced him, hugged him, cried, laughed, hallooed, jumped about, danced, sung, then cried again, wrung his hands, beat his own face and head, and then sung and jumped about again, like a distracted creature. It was a good while before I could make him speak to me, or tell me what was the matter ; but when he came a little to himself, he said that it was his father.



It is not easy for me to express how it moved me, to see what ecstasy and filial affection had worked in this poor savage, at the sight of his father, and of his being delivered from death : nor indeed can I describe half the extravagance of his affection after this, for he went into the boat and out of the boat a great many times. When he went in to him, he would sit down by him, open his breast, and hold his father's head close to his bosom half an hour together, to nourish it ; then he took his arms and ancles, which were numbed and stiff with the binding, and chafed and rubbed them with his hands ; and I perceiving what the case was, gave him some rum out of my bottle to rub them with, which did them a deal of good.

This action put an end to our pursuit of the canoe with the other

savages, who were now gotten almost out of sight ; and it was happy for us that we did not, for it blew so hard within two hours after, and before they could be gotten a quarter of their way, and continued blowing so hard all night, and that from the north-west, which was against them, that I could not suppose their boat could live, or that they ever reached to their own coast.

But to return to Friday, he was so busy about his father, that I could not find in my heart to take him off for some time ; but after I thought he could leave him a little, I called him to me, and he came jumping and laughing, and pleased to the highest extreme. Then I asked him if he had given his father any bread. He shook his head, and said, "None : ugly dog eat all up self." So I gave him a cake of bread, out of a little pouch I carried on purpose ; I also gave him a dram for himself, but he would not taste it, but carried it to his father. I had in my pocket also two or three bunches of my raisins, so I gave him a handful of them for his father. He had no sooner given his father these raisins, but I saw him come out of the boat, and run away, as if he had been bewitched. He ran at such a rate (for he was the swiftest fellow of his foot that ever I saw), I say, he ran at such a rate, that he was out of sight, as it were, in an instant ; and though I called and hallooed too after him, it was all one : away he went, and in a quarter of an hour I saw him come back again, though not so fast as he went ; and as he came near I found his pace was slacker, because he had something in his hand.

When he came to me, I found he had been quite home for an earthen jug, or pot, to bring his father some fresh water, and that he had got two more cakes or loaves of bread. The bread he gave me, but the water he carried to his father ; however, as I was very thirsty too, I took a little sup of it. The water revived his father more than all the rum or spirits I had given him, for he was just fainting with thirst.

When his father had drunk, I called to him to know if there was any water left ; he said, "Yes," and I bade him give it to the poor Spaniard, who was as much in want of it as his father, and I sent one of the cakes that Friday brought to the Spaniard too, who was indeed very weak, and was reposing himself upon a green place, under the shade of a tree, and whose limbs were also very stiff, and very much swelled with the rude bandage he had been tied with. When I saw that, upon Friday's coming up to him with the water, he sat up and drank, and took the bread and began to eat, I went up to him and gave him a handful of raisins. He looked up in my face with all the tokens

of gratitude and thankfulness that could appear in any countenance ; but was so weak, notwithstanding he had so exerted himself in the fight, that he could not stand upon his feet. He tried to do it two or three times, but was really not able, his ancles were so swelled and so painful to him ; so I bade him sit still, and caused Friday to rub his ancles, and bathe them with rum, as he had done his father's.

I observed the poor affectionate creature, every two minutes, or perhaps less, all the while he was here, turned his head about to see for his father ; and at last he missed him, at which he started up, and without speaking a word, flew with that swiftness to him, that one could scarce perceive his feet to touch the ground as he went ; but when he came, he found he had only laid himself down to ease his limbs. So Friday came back to me presently, and I then told him to help the Spaniard to the boat ; so he took him upon his back, and carried him beside his father in the boat, and stepping out again, launched the boat off, and paddled it along the shore faster than I could walk, though the wind blew pretty hard too ; so he brought them both safe into our creek, and leaving them in the boat, runs away to fetch the other canoe. As he passed me, I spoke to him, and asked him whither he went. He told me, "Go fetch more boat." So away he went, like the wind, for sure never man or horse ran like him ; and he had the other canoe in the creek almost as soon as I got to it by land : so he wafted me over, and then went to help our new guests out of the boat, which he did ; but they were neither of them able to walk, so that poor Friday knew not what to do.

At last, we made a kind of hand-barrow to lay them on, and Friday and I carried them up both together upon it between us. But when we got them to the outside of our wall, or fortification, we were at a worse loss than before, for it was impossible to get them over ; and I was resolved not to break it down. So I set to work again ; and Friday and I, in about two hours' time, made a very handsome tent, covered with old sails, and above with boughs of trees, being in the same space without our outward fence, and between that and the grove of young wood which I had planted ; and here we made them two beds of such things as I had, namely, of good rice straw, with blankets laid upon it to lie on, and another to cover them on each bed.

My island was now peopled, and I thought myself very rich in subjects ; and it was a merry reflection which I frequently made, how like a king I looked. First of all, the whole country was my own mere property, so that I had an undoubted right of dominion. Secondly, my people were perfectly subjected ; I was the absolute lord and law-

giver : they all owed their lives to me, and were ready to lay down their lives, if there had been occasion of it, for me. It was remarkable, too, I had but three subjects, and they were of three different religions : my man Friday was a Protestant ; his father was a pagan and a cannibal ; and the Spaniard was a Papist. However, I allowed liberty of conscience to all my subjects.

As soon as I had secured my two weak, rescued prisoners, and given them shelter, and a place to rest them upon, I began to think of making some provision for them ; and the first thing I did, I ordered Friday to take a yearling goat, betwixt a kid and a goat, out of my particular flock, to be killed. Then I cut off the hinder quarter, and chopping it into small pieces, I set Friday to work to boiling and stewing, and made them a very good dish of flesh and broth, and we all enjoyed it and eat heartily.



After we had dined, or rather supped, I ordered Friday to take one of the canoes and go and fetch our muskets and other fire-arms from the place of battle ; and the next day I ordered him to go and bury the dead bodies of the savages, which lay open to the sun, and would presently be offensive ; and I also ordered him to bury the horrid remains of their barbarous feast : all of which he punctually performed.

I then began to enter into a little conversation with my two new subjects ; and first I set Friday to inquire of his father what he thought of the escape of the savages in that canoe, and whether we might expect a return of them with a power too great for us to resist. His first opinion was, that the savages in the boat never could live out the storm which blew that night they went off, but must be drowned, or

driven south to those other shores, where they were as sure to be devoured as they were to be drowned, if they were cast away ; but as to what they would do, if they came on shore, he said, he knew not ; but it was his opinion that they were so dreadfully frightened with the manner of their being attacked, the noise and the fire, that he believed they would tell their people they were all killed by thunder and lightning, and not by the hand of man ; and that the two which appeared (namely Friday and I) were two heavenly spirits and furies come down to destroy them, and not with weapons. And this old savage was right ; for though they escaped the sea, they gave such dreadful accounts in their own country (as I heard afterwards), that they never ventured from that part to my island again.

But I was under continual apprehensions for some time, and kept upon my guard, I and all my army ; for, as we were now four of us, I would have ventured upon a hundred of them, in the open field.

In a little time, however, no more canoes appearing, the fear of them coming wore off, and I began to take my former thoughts of a voyage to the main into consideration, being likewise assured, by Friday's father, that I might depend upon good usage from their nation, on his account, if I would go.

But my thoughts were a little suspended, when I had a serious discourse with the Spaniard, and when I understood that there were sixteen more of his countrymen and Portuguese, who having been cast away, and made their escape to that side, lived there at peace indeed with the savages, but were very sore put to it for necessaries, and indeed for life. I asked him all the particulars of their voyage, and found they were a Spanish ship, bound from the Rio de la Plata to the Havannah, being directed to leave their loading there, which was chiefly hides and silver, and to bring back what European goods they could meet with there ; that they had five Portuguese seamen on board, whom they took out of another wreck ; that five of their own men were drowned when first their ship was lost ; and that these escaped through infinite dangers and hazards, and arrived, almost starved, on the cannibal coast, where they expected to be devoured every moment.

He told me they had some arms with them, but they were perfectly useless, for they had neither powder nor ball, the washing of the sea having spoiled all their powder, but a little, which they used at their first landing to provide themselves some food.

I asked him what he thought would become of them there, and if they had formed no design of making an escape. He said they had many consultations about it, but having neither vessel, nor tools to

build one, nor provisions of any kind, their counsels always ended in tears and despair. I asked him how he thought they would receive a proposal from me, which might tend towards an escape; and whether, if they were all here, it might not be done.

He told me they were all under the greatest distress imaginable, and if I would undertake their relief, they would live and die by me.

Upon these assurances, I resolved to venture to relieve them, if possible, and to send the old savage and the Spaniard over to them to treat. But when he had gotten all things in readiness to go, the Spaniard himself started an objection, which had so much prudence in it on the one hand, and so much sincerity on the other hand, that I could not but be well satisfied in it; and, by his advice, put off the deliverance of his comrades for at least half-a-year. The case was thus:—He had been with us now about a month, during which time I had let him see in what manner I had provided, with the assistance of Providence, for my support; and he saw evidently what stock of corn and rice I had laid up, which, as it was more than sufficient for myself, so it was not sufficient, at least without good husbandry, for my family, now it was increased to the number of four; but much less would it be sufficient, if his countrymen, who were, as he said, fourteen, still alive, should come over; and, least of all, would it be sufficient to victual our vessel, if we should build one, for a voyage to any of the Christian colonies of America. So he told me he thought it would be more advisable to let him and the two others dig and cultivate more land, as much as I could spare seed to sow; and that we should wait another harvest, then we might have a supply of corn for his countrymen, when they should come; for want might be a temptation to them to disagree, or not think themselves delivered, otherwise than out of one difficulty into another.

His caution was so seasonable, and his advice so good, that I could not but be very well pleased with his proposal, as well as I was satisfied with his fidelity. So we fell to digging, all four of us, as well as the wooden tools we were furnished with permitted; and in about a month's time, by the end of which it was seed time, we had gotten as much land cured, and trimmed up, as we sowed twenty-two bushels of barley on, and sixteen jars of rice, which was, in short, all the seed we had to spare.

Having now society enough, and our number being sufficient to put us out of fear of savages, if they had come, unless their number had been very great, we went freely all over the island, wherever we found occasion; and as we had our escape or deliverance upon our thoughts,

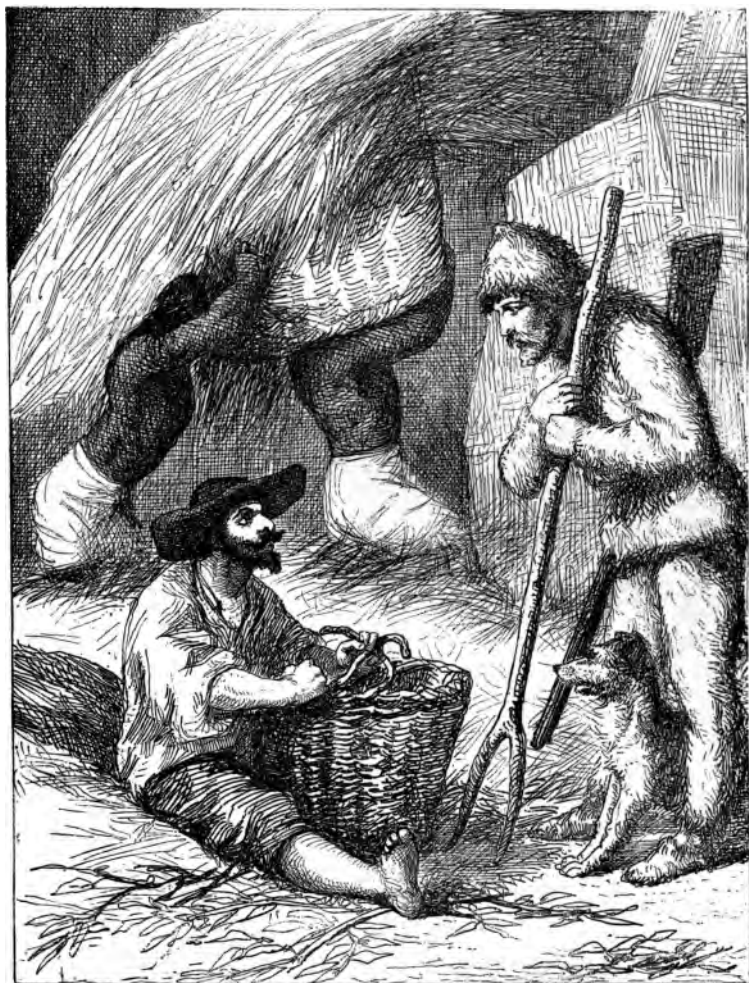
request that he should leave them upon the island, of which the captain said he should be very glad. I accordingly sent for them, and entered seriously into discourse with them upon their circumstances. One of them answered in the name of the rest, that they had nothing to say but this, that when they were taken, the captain promised them their lives, and they humbly implored my mercy. But I told them I knew not what mercy to show them ; for, as for myself, I had resolved to quit the island with all my men, and had taken passage with the captain to go to England ; and as for the captain, he would not carry them to England, but as prisoners in irons, to be tried for mutiny and running away with the ship ; the consequence of which, they must needs know, would be the gallows : so that I could not tell which was best for them, unless they had a mind to take their fate in the island ; if they desired that, I did not care, as I had liberty to leave it ; I had some inclination to give them their lives, if they could shift on shore. They seemed very thankful for it ; and said they would rather venture to stay there, than to be carried to England to be hanged.

I then told them, I would let them into the story of my living there, and put them into the way of making it easy to them. Accordingly I gave them the whole history of the place, and of my coming to it ; showed them my fortifications, the way I made my bread, planted my corn, cured my grapes, and, in a word, all that was necessary to make them easy. I told them the story of the Spaniards that were to be expected, for whom I left a letter, and made them promise to treat them in common with themselves.

I left them five muskets, three fowling-pieces, and three swords. I had about a barrel and a half of powder, which I left them. I gave them a description of the way I managed the goats, and directions to milk and fatten them, to make both butter and cheese. In a word, I gave them every part of my own story ; and I told them I would prevail with the captain to leave them two barrels of gunpowder more, and some garden seeds, which I told them I would have been very glad of ; also I gave them the bag of peas which the captain had brought me, and bade them to be sure to sow and increase them.

Having done this, I left them the next day, and went on board the ship. The next morning two of the five men came swimming to the ship's side, and making a most lamentable complaint of the other three, begged to be taken into the ship, for God's sake, for they should be murdered.

The captain pretended to have no power without me ; but, after some difficulty, and after their solemn promises of amendment, they



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Under these instructions, the Spaniard and the old savage went away in one of the canoes which they came in, when they were brought as prisoners to be devoured by the savages. I gave each of them a musket, and about eight charges of powder and ball, charging them to be very careful of both, and not to use either of them, but upon very urgent occasions.



This was a cheerful work, being the first measures used by me, in view of my deliverance, for now twenty-seven years and some days. I gave them provisions of bread and of dried grapes, sufficient for themselves for many days, and sufficient for all their countrymen for about eight days ; and wishing them a good voyage, I let them go, agreeing with them about a signal they should hang out at their return, by which I should know them again, when they came back, at a distance before they came on shore.

They went away, with a fair gale, on the day that the moon was at the full, by my account, in the month of October, as near as I could tell.

It was no less than eight days I waited for them, when a strange and unforeseen occurrence intervened, of which, the like has not, perhaps, been heard of in history. I was fast asleep in my hut one morning, when my man Friday came running in to me, and called aloud, " Master, master, they are come, they are come ! " I jumped up, and, regardless of danger, went out, as soon as I could get my clothes on, through my little grove ; I went without my arms, which it was not my custom to do ; but I was surprised, when, turning my eyes to the sea, I presently

snow in any quantity, they said it was frozen hard enough to bear them and their horses.

We sent for this guide, who told us that he would undertake to carry us the same way, with no hazard from the snow, provided we were armed sufficiently to protect us from wild beasts; for, he said, upon these snow regions it was common for wolves to show themselves at the foot of the mountains, being made ravenous for want of food, while the ground was covered with snow. We told him we were well enough prepared for such creatures as they were, if he would ensure us from a kind of two-legged wolves, from which we were told most danger was to be apprehended, especially on the French side of the mountains.



He satisfied us there was no danger of that kind in the way that we were to go. So we readily agreed to follow him, as did also twelve other gentlemen, with their servants, some French, some Spanish, who, as I said, had attempted to go, and were obliged to come back again.

Accordingly, we all set out from Pampeluna, with our guide, on the 15th of November; and, indeed, I was surprised, when, instead of going forward, he came directly back with us above twenty miles; on the same road by which we came from Madrid, when, having passed two rivers, and come into the plain country, we found ourselves in a warm climate again, where the country was pleasant, and no snow was to be seen; but, on a sudden, turning to the left, he approached the mountains by another way; and though, it is true, the hills and the precipices looked dreadful, yet he made so many tours, and meanders, and led us

two lifted up their hands sometimes, and appeared concerned indeed, but not so much as the first.

I was perfectly confounded at the sight, and knew not what the meaning of it could be. Friday called out to me, in English, as well as he could, "O master, you see English mans eat prisoners as well as savage mans." "Why," said I, "do you think they are going to eat them, then?" "Yes," says Friday, "they will eat them." "No, no," said I, "Friday, I am afraid they will murder them, indeed, but you may be sure they will not eat them."

All this while I had no thoughts of what the matter really was, but expected every moment the three prisoners would be killed; and once I saw one of the villains lift up his arm, with a great cutlass or sword, to strike one of the poor men, and I expected to see him fall every moment. I wished heartily now for my Spaniard, and the savage that was gone with him; or that I had any way to have come undiscovered within shot of them, that I might have rescued the three men, for they had no fire-arms that I saw.

After I had observed the outrageous usage of the three men by the insolent seamen, I saw that the fellows ran scattering about the land, as if they wanted to see the country. I observed, also, that the three other men had liberty to go where they pleased, but that they sat down all three upon the ground, very pensive, and looked like men in despair.

It was just at the top of high water when these people came on shore, and while partly they stood parleying with the prisoners they brought, and partly while they rambled about to see what kind of place they were in, they had carelessly stayed till the tide was spent, and the water was ebbd considerably away, leaving the boat aground. They had left two men in the boat, who, as I found afterwards, having drank a little too much brandy, fell asleep. However, one of them wakening sooner than the other, and finding the boat too fast aground for him to stir it, halloed for the rest, who were straggling about, upon which they all soon came to the boat, but it was past all their strength to launch her, the boat being very heavy, and the shore on that side being a soft, oozy sand, almost like a quicksand. In this condition, like true seamen, who are, perhaps, the least of all mankind given to forethought, they gave it over, and away they strolled about the country again; and I heard one of them say aloud to another (calling them off from the boat), "Why, let her alone, Jack, can't ye! She'll float next tide." By which I was fully confirmed what countrymen they were.

All this while I kept myself close, not once daring to stir out of my castle, any farther than to my place of obversation near the top of the

upon him, but went up close to him, and shot him as above ; whereas, any of us would have fired at a farther distance, and might, perhaps, have either missed the wolf, or shot the man.

But it was enough to have terrified a bolder man than I ; and indeed it alarmed all our company, when, with the noise of Friday's pistol, we heard on both sides the most dismal howling of wolves, and the noise redoubled by the echo of the mountains.

My man Friday had delivered our guide, and when we came up he was helping him off from his horse, for the man was both hurt and frightened, and indeed the last more than the first.

We had one dangerous place to pass, of which our guide told us, if there were any more wolves in the country, we should find them there ; and this was a small plain, surrounded with woods on every side, and a long, narrow defile, or lane, which we were to pass, to get through the wood, and then we should come to a village where we were to lodge.

It was within half an hour of sunset when we entered the first wood ; and a little after sunset we came into the plain. We met with nothing in the first wood, except that, in a little plain, within the wood, which was not above two furlongs over, we saw five great wolves cross the road, full speed, one after another, as if they had been in chase of some prey they had in view. They took no notice of us, and were gone, and out of our sight in a few moments.

This gave us leisure to charge our pieces again, and that we might lose no time, we kept going ; but we had little more than loaded our fusils, and put ourselves into readiness, when we heard a terrible noise in the wood on our left.

The night was coming on, and the light began to be dusky, which made it the worse on our side ; but the noise increasing, we could easily perceive that it was the howling of those ravenous creatures ; and, on a sudden, we perceived two or three troops of wolves, one on our left, one behind us, and one in our front, and we knew not what course to take ; but the creatures resolved us soon, for they gathered about us, in hopes of prey ; and I verily believe there were three hundred of them. It happened very much to our advantage, that, at the entrance into the wood there lay some large timber trees, cut down, and I drew my little troop in among these trees, and placing ourselves in a line, behind one long tree, I advised them all to alight, and keeping that tree before us, for a breast-work, to stand in a triangle or three fronts, enclosing our horses in the centre. We did so ; and it was well we did, for never was a more furious charge than the creatures made upon us in this place : they came on us with a growling kind of noise, and mounted the piece

answer at all, but I thought I perceived them just going to fly from me, when I spoke to them in English :—"Gentlemen," said I, "do not be surprised at me ; perhaps you may have a friend near you, when you do not expect it." "He must be sent directly from heaven, then," said one of them very gravely to me, and pulling off his hat at the same time, "for our condition is past the help of man." "All help is from heaven, sir," said I, "but can you put a stranger in the way how to help you, for you seem to be in some great distress ? I saw you when you landed ; and when you seemed to make application to the brutes that came with you, I saw one lift up his sword to kill you."

The poor man, with tears running down his face, and trembling, looking like one astonished, returned, "Am I talking to God or man ? Is it a real man, or an angel ?" "Be in no fear about that, sir," said I, "if God had sent an angel to relieve you, he would have come better clothed, and armed after another manner, than you see me. Pray lay aside your fears, I am a man, an Englishman, and disposed to assist you, you see. I have one servant only : we have arms and ammunition, tell us freely, can we serve you ? What is your case ?"

"Our case, sir," said he, "is too long to tell you, while our murderers are so near ; but, in short, sir, I was commander of that ship, my men have mutinied against me, they have been hardly prevailed upon not to murder me, and, at last, have set me on shore in this desolate place, with these two men with me, one my mate, the other a passenger, where we expected to perish, believing the place to be uninhabited, and know not yet what to think of it."

"Where are those brutes, your enemies ?" said I, "do you know where they are gone ?" "There they are, sir," said he, pointing to a thicket of trees, "my heart trembles for fear they have seen us, and heard you speak ; if they have, they will murder us all."

"Have they any fire-arms ?" said I. He answered, "They had only two pieces, and one which they left in the boat." "Well, then," said I, "leave the rest to me. I see they are asleep. It is an easy thing to kill them all ; but shall we rather take them prisoners ?" He told me there were two desperate villains among them, that was scarce safe to show any mercy to, but if they were secured, he believed all the rest would return to their duty. I asked him which they were. He told me he could not, at that distance, describe them ; but he would obey my orders in anything I would direct. "Well," said I, "let us retreat out of their view or hearing, lest they awake, and we will resolve farther." So they willingly went back with me, till the woods covered us from them. "Look you, sir," said I, "if I venture upon

your deliverance, are you willing to make two conditions with me?" He anticipated my proposals, by telling me, that both he and the ship, if recovered, should be wholly directed and commanded by me in everything; and if the ship was not recovered, he would live and die with me, in what part of the world soever I would send him, and the two others said the same.

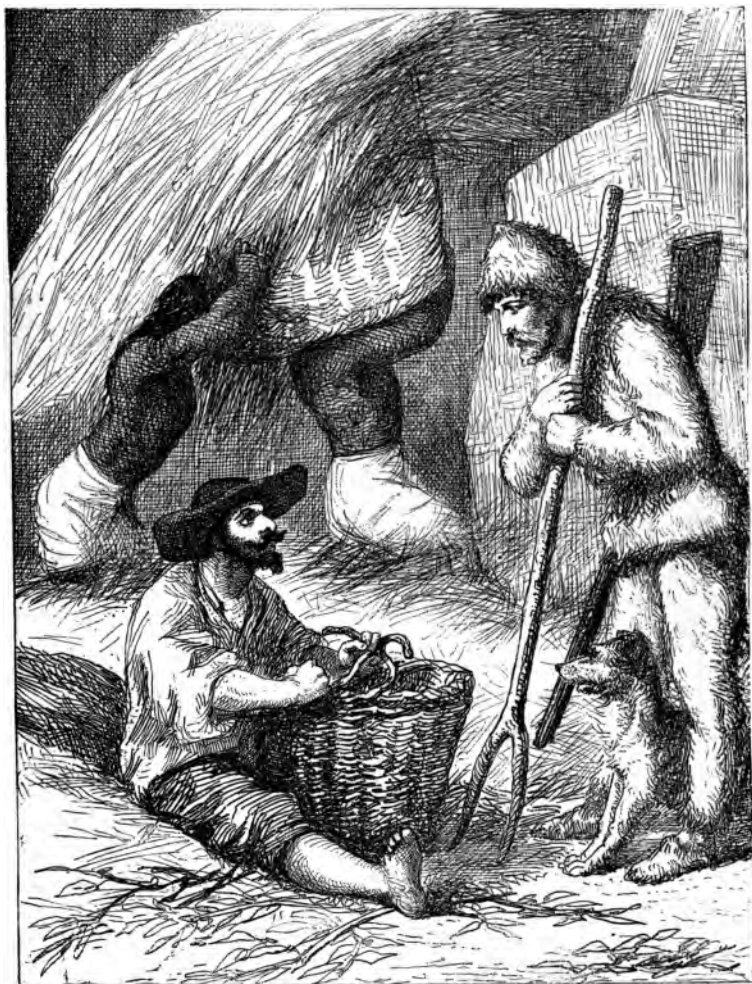
"Well," said I, "my conditions are but two; first, that while you stay on this island with me, you will not pretend to any authority here; and if I put arms in your hands, you will, upon all occasions, give them up to me, and do no prejudice to me or mine, upon this island; and, in the meantime, be governed by my orders. Secondly, that if the ship is, or may be, recovered, you will carry me and my man to England passage free." He gave me all the assurances that the invention and faith of man could devise, that he would comply with these most reasonable demands, and, besides, would owe his life to me, and acknowledge it, upon all occasions, as long as he lived.

"Well, then," said I, "here are three muskets for you, with powder and ball. Tell me next what you think is proper to be done." He showed all the testimony of his gratitude that he was able; but offered to be wholly guided by me. I told him I thought it was hard venturing anything, but the best method I could think of was to fire upon them at once, as they lay; and if any were not killed at the first volley, and offered to submit, we might save them, and so put it wholly upon God's providence to direct the shot.

He said, very modestly, that he was loath to kill them, if he could help it, but that those two were incorrigible villains, and had been the authors of all the mutiny in the ship, and if they escaped we should be undone still, for they would go on board and bring the whole ship's company, and destroy us all. "Well, then," said I, "necessity legitimates my advice; for it is the only way to save our lives." However, seeing him still cautious of shedding blood, I told him they should go themselves, and manage as they found convenient.

In the middle of this discourse we heard some of them awake, and soon after we saw two of them on their feet. I asked him if either of them were the men who, he had said, were the heads of the mutiny. He said, "No." "Well, then," said I, "you may let them escape; and Providence seems to have awakened them on purpose to save themselves." "Now," said I, "if the rest escape you, it is your fault."

Animated with this, he took the musket I had given him in his hand, and a pistol in his belt, and his two comrades with him, each



CRUSOE HARVESTING



man a piece in his hand. The two men who were with him, going first, made some noise, at which one of the seamen, who was awake, turned about, and seeing them coming, cried out to the rest; but it was too late then, for the moment he cried out, the two men fired, the captain wisely reserving his own piece. They had so well aimed their shot at the men they knew, that one of them was killed on the spot, and the other very much wounded; but, not being dead, he started up upon his feet, and called eagerly for help to the other; but the captain, stepping to him, told him it was too late to cry for help, he should call upon God to forgive his villany, and, with that word, knocked him down with the stock of his musket, so that he never spoke more. There were three more in the company, and one of them was also slightly wounded. By this time I was come; and when they saw their danger, and that it was in vain to resist, they begged for mercy. The captain told them he would spare their lives, if they would give him any assurance of their abhorrence of the treachery they had been guilty of, and would swear to be faithful to him in recovering the ship, and afterwards in carrying her back to Jamaica, from whence they came. They gave him all the protestations of their sincerity that could be desired, and he was willing to believe them, and spare their lives, which I was not against; only I obliged him to keep them bound, hand and foot, while they were upon the island.

While this was doing, I sent Friday, with the captain's mate, to the boat, with orders to secure her, and bring away the oars and sail, which they did; and, by the bye, three straggling men, that were parted from the rest, came back again upon hearing the guns fired; and seeing their captain, who was before their prisoner, now their conqueror, they submitted to be bound also.

It now remained that the captain and I should inquire into one another's circumstances. I began first, and told him my whole history, which he heard with an attention even to amazement, and particularly at the wonderful manner of my being furnished with provisions and ammunition; and, indeed, as my story is a whole collection of wonders, it affected him deeply; but when he reflected from thence upon himself, and how I seemed to have been preserved there on purpose to save his life, the tears ran down his face, and he could not speak a word more.

After this communciation was at an end, I carried him and his two men into my apartment, leading them in just where I came out, namely, at the top of the house, where I refreshed them with such provisions as I had, and showed them all the contrivances I had made during my long inhabiting this place.

THE FARTHER ADVENTURES
OF
ROBINSON CRUSOE.

THAT homely proverb used on so many occasions in England, namely, That what is bred in the bone will not go out of the flesh, was never more verified than in the story of my life. Any one would think that after thirty-five years' affliction, and a variety of unhappy circumstances, which few men, if any, ever went through before, and after near seven years of peace and enjoyment in the fulness of all things ; growing old, and when, if ever, it might be allowed me to have had such experience of every state of middle life, as to know which was most adapted to make a man happy ; I say, after all this, any one would have thought that the native propensity to rambling, which first sent me out into the world, should be worn out, and that I might at sixty-one have been inclined to stay at home, and have done venturing life and fortune any more.

Nay farther, the common motive for foreign adventures was taken away in me ; for I had no fortune to make, I had nothing to seek : for, if I had gained ten thousand pounds, I had been no richer ; for I had already sufficient for my wants, and for those I had to leave it to ; and that I had was visibly increasing ; for having no great family, I could not spend what I had, unless I would set up for an expensive way of living, such as a great family, servants, equipage, gaiety, and the like, which were things I had no inclination to ; so that I had nothing indeed to do but to sit still, enjoy what I had got, and see it increase daily upon my hands.

Yet all these things had no effect upon me, or at least not enough to resist the strong inclination I had to go abroad again, which hung about me like a chronic distemper ; particularly the desire of seeing my new plantation in the island, and the colony I left there, which run in my head continually. I dreamed of it all night, and my

Upon this, I told him the first thing we had to do was to stave the boat, which lay upon the beach, so that they might not carry her off : and taking everything out of her, leave her so far useless as not to be fit to swim. Accordingly we went on board, took the arms which were left on board out of her, and whatever else we found there, which was a bottle of brandy, and another of rum, a few biscuit cakes, a horn of powder, and a great lump of sugar, in a piece of canvass ; the sugar was five or six pounds : all which was very welcome to me, especially the brandy and sugar, of which I had been without many years.

When we had carried all these things on shore, we knocked a great hole in her bottom, that if they had come strong enough to master us, yet they could not carry off the boat.

Indeed, it was not much in my thoughts that we could be capable to recover the ship ; but my view was, that if they went away without the boat, I did not much question to make her fit again to carry us away to the Leeward Islands, and call upon our friends the Spaniards in my way.

While we were thus preparing our designs, and had first, by main strength, heaved the boat upon the beach, so high that the tide would not float her off at high-water mark ; and, besides, had broken a hole in her bottom too big to be quickly stopped, and were sat down musing what we should do, we heard the ship fire a gun, and saw her make a waft with her ancient, as a signal for the boat to come on board ; but no boat stirred, and they fired several times, making other signals for the boat.

At last, when all their signals and firings proved fruitless, and they found the boat did not stir, we saw them (by the help of my glasses) hoist another boat off, and row towards the shore ; and we found, as they approached, that there were no less than ten men in her, and that they had fire-arms with them.

As the ship lay almost two leagues from the shore, we had a full view of them as they came. The captain knew the persons and characters of all the men in the boat, of whom he said that there were three very honest fellows, who, he was sure, were led into this conspiracy by the rest, being overpowered and frightened : but that as for the boatswain, who, it seems, was the chief officer among them, and all the rest, they were as outrageous as any of the ship's crew, and were, no doubt, made desperate in their new enterprise.

We had, upon the first appearance of the boats' coming from the ship, considered of separating our prisoners, and had indeed secured them effectually. Two of them, of whom the captain was less assured

than ordinary, I sent with Friday, and one of the three delivered men, to my cave, where they were remote enough, and out of danger of being heard or discovered, or of finding their way out of the woods. They left them bound, but gave them provisions, and promised them, if they continued there quietly, to give them their liberty in a day or two ; but that if they attempted their escape, they should be put to death without mercy. They promised faithfully to bear their confinement with patience.

The other prisoners had better usage : two of them were kept pinioned indeed, because the captain did not like to trust them, but the other two were taken in to my service, upon their captain's recommendation, and upon their solemnly engaging to live and die with us.

As soon as they got to the place where their other boat lay, they ran their boat into the beach, and came all on shore, hauling the boat up after them, which I was glad to see ; for I was afraid they would rather have left the boat and anchor, some distance from the shore, with some hands in her to guard her, and so we should not be able to seize the boat.

Being on shore, they ran all to the other boat ; and it was easy to see they were under a great surprise to find her stripped, and a great hole in the bottom. After this, they set up a great shout ; but it was all to no purpose : then they came all close in a ring, and fired a volley of their small arms, which indeed we heard, and the echoes made the woods ring, but it was all one ; those in the cave we were sure could not hear, and those in our keeping, though they heard it well enough, yet durst give no answer to them.

They were so surprised at this, as they told us afterwards, that they resolved to go all on board again to their ship, and let them know there that the men were all murdered, and the long boat staved ; accordingly, they immediately launched their boat again, and got all of them on board.

The captain was terribly amazed, and even confounded at this, believing they would go on board the ship again, and set sail, giving their comrades up for lost, and so he should still lose the ship, which he was in hopes we should have recovered, but he was quickly as much frightened the other way.

They had not been long put off with the boat, but we perceived them all coming on shore again ; and they left three men in the boat, and the rest went up into the country to look for their fellows. This was a great disappointment to us, for now we were at a loss what to do ; for our seizing those seven men on shore would be no advantage to us

if we let the boat escape, because they would then row away to the ship, and then the rest of them would be sure to weigh, and set sail, and so our hope of recovering the ship would be lost. However, we had no remedy but to wait and see what the issue of things might present. The seven men came on shore, and the three who remained in the boat put her off to a good distance from the shore, and came to an anchor, to wait for them, so that it was impossible for us to come at them in the boat.

Those that came on shore kept close together, marching towards the top of the little hill, under which my habitation lay, and we could see them plainly, though they could not perceive us. And when they were come to the brow of the hill, where they could see a great way



into the valleys and woods which lay towards the north-east part, and where the island lay lowest, they shouted till they were weary, and then they sat down to consider of it. Had they gone to sleep there, as the other party did, they had done for us ; but they were too full of apprehension of danger to venture to go to sleep, though they could not tell what the danger was.

The captain made a very just proposal to me upon this consultation of theirs, namely, that perhaps they would all fire a volley again, to endeavour to make their fellows hear, and that we should all sally upon them just at the juncture when their pieces were all discharged, and they would certainly yield, and we should have them without bloodshed. I liked the proposal, provided it was done while we were

near enough to come up to them before they could load their pieces again.

But this event did not happen, and we lay still a long time, very irresolute what course to take ; at length I told them there would be nothing to be done, in my opinion, till night : and then, if they did not return to the boat, perhaps we might use some stratagem with them in the boat to get them on shore.

We waited a great while, and were very uneasy ; when, we saw them all start up, and march towards the sea. It seems they had such dreadful apprehensions upon them of the danger of the place, that they resolved to go on board the ship again, give their companions over for lost, and so go on their intended voyage with the ship.

As soon as I perceived them go towards the shore, I imagined that they had given over their search, and were for going back again ; and the captain was ready to sink when I told him my thoughts, but I presently thought of a stratagem to fetch them back again, and which answered my end to a tittle.

I ordered Friday and the captain's mate, to go over the little creek westward, towards the place where Friday was rescued, and at about half a mile distance, I bade them halloo as loud as they could, and as soon as they heard the seamen answer them, they should return it again, and then, keeping out of sight, take a round, and then wheel about again to me by such ways as I directed.

They were just going into the boat, when Friday and the mate hallooed, and they presently heard them, and answering, run along the shore westward, towards the voice they heard, when they were stopped by the creek, the water being up, they could not get over, and called for the boat to come and set them over, as, indeed, I expected.

When they had set themselves over, I observed that they took one of the three men out of her, and left only two in the boat, having fastened her to a stump of a little tree on the shore.

This was what I wished for ; and immediately leaving Friday and the captain's mate to their business, I took the rest with me, and crossing the creek out of their sight, we surprised the two men before they were aware, one of them lying on the shore between sleeping and waking, and, going to start up, the captain, who was foremost, ran in upon him and knocked him down, and then called to him in the boat to yield or he was a dead man.

There needed very few arguments to persuade a single man to yield, when he saw five men upon him, and his comrade knocked down : besides, this was, it seems, one of the three men who were not so hearty

in the mutiny as the rest of the crew, and, therefore, was easily persuaded not only to yield, but afterwards to join very sincerely with us.

In the mean time, Friday and the captain's mate so well managed their business with the rest, that they drew them, by hallooing and answering, from one wood to another, till they not only heartily tired them, but left them where they were sure they could not reach back before it was dark: and indeed they were heartily tired themselves also by the time they came back to us.

It was several hours after Friday came back to me before they came back to their boat; and we could hear the foremost of them long before they came quite up, calling to those behind to come along, and could hear them answer, and complain how lame and tired they were, and not able to come any faster, which was very welcome news to us.

At length they came up to the boat, but it is impossible to express their confusion when they found the boat fast aground in the creek, and their two men gone; we could hear them telling one another they were gotten into an enchanted island; that either there were inhabitants in it, and they should all be murdered, or else there were devils or spirits in it, and they should be carried away and devoured.

They hallooed again, and called their two comrades by their names, but got no answer. After some time, we could see them by the little light there was run about like men in despair; and that sometimes they would go and sit down in the boat to rest themselves, then come on shore again, and walk about, and so the same thing over again.

My men would have fallen upon them in the dark, but I was willing to spare them, and kill as few of them as I could, being unwilling to hazard the killing any of our men, knowing the others were well armed. I resolved to wait and make sure of them, and drew my ambuscade nearer, and ordered Friday and the captain to creep upon their hands and knees, and get as near them as they possibly could before they offered to fire.

They had not been long in that posture, when the boatswain, who was the principal ringleader, and had now shown himself the most dispirited of all the rest, walked towards them with two more of their crew. The captain was so eager at having the principal rogue so much in his power, that he could hardly have patience to let him come so near as to be sure of him, for he only heard his tongue before; but when they came nearer, the captain and Friday, starting up on their feet, let fly at them.

The boatswain was killed on the spot, the next was shot through the

concerned themselves so much for me, as to persuade me one way or other, except my ancient good friend the widow, who earnestly entreated me to consider my years, my easy circumstances, and the needless hazard of a long voyage; and, above all, my young children: but it was all to no purpose; I had an irresistible desire to the voyage; and such was the impression I had upon my mind for the voyage, that I told her I thought it would be a kind of resisting Providence, if I should attempt to stay at home; after this she ceased her expostulations, and joined with me, not only in making provision for my voyage, but also in settling my family affairs in my absence, and providing for the education of my children.

In order to this, I made my will, and settled the estate I had in such a manner for my children, and placed it in such hands, that I was perfectly easy; satisfied that they would have justice done them, whatever might befall me; as for their education, I left it wholly to my widow, with a sufficient maintenance to herself for her care: all which she richly deserved; for no mother could have taken more care in their education, or understand it better; and I lived to thank her for it.

My nephew was ready to sail about the beginning of January, 1694, and I with my man Friday went on board in the Downs on the 8th, having, besides the frame of that sloop which I mentioned above, a very considerable cargo of all kinds of necessary things for my colony, which, if I did not find in good condition, I resolved at least to leave it so.

First, I carried with me some servants, whom I purposed to place there, as inhabitants, or at least to set on work there upon my own account, while I stayed, and either to leave them there, or carry them forward, as they should appear willing; particularly I carried two carpenters, a smith, and a very handy ingenious fellow who was a cooper by trade, but was also a general mechanic; for he was dexterous at making wheels, and handmills to grind corn, was a good turner, a good pot-maker; he also made any thing that was proper to make of earth, or of wood; in a word, we called him our "Jack of all trades."

With these I carried a tailor, who had offered himself to go passenger to the East Indies with my nephew, but afterwards consented to stay on our plantation, and proved as handy a fellow as could be desired, in many other businesses besides; for, as I observed formerly, necessity arms us for all employments.

My cargo, as near as I can recollect, for I have not kept an account of the particulars, consisted of a sufficient quantity of linen, and some

thin English stuffs, enough for clothing the Spaniards I expected to find there, comfortably for the next seven years ; these materials, with gloves, hats, shoes, stockings, and all such things as they could want for wearing, amounted to above 200 pounds, including some beds, bedding, and household-stuff, particularly kitchen utensils, with pots, kettles, pewter, brass, &c. and near a hundred pound more in iron-work, nails, tools of every kind, staples, hooks, hinges, and every necessary thing I could think of.

I carried also a hundred spare arms, muskets, and fusees, besides some pistols, a considerable quantity of shot of all sizes, and two pieces of brass cannon ; and, because I knew not what time, and what extremities I was providing for, I carried a hundred barrels of powder, besides swords, cutlasses, and the iron part of some pikes and halberts ; so, that, in short, we had a large magazine of all sorts of stores ; and I made my nephew carry two small quarter-deck guns more than he wanted for his ship, to leave behind, to assist us to maintain possession of the island.

I had not such bad luck in this voyage as I had been used to meet with ; yet some odd accidents, cross winds, and bad weather did happen, which made the voyage longer than I expected ; and I, who had never made but one voyage, namely, my first voyage to Guinea, in which I might be said to come back again, as the voyage was at first designed, began to think the same ill fate still attended me ; and that I was born to be never contented with being on shore, and yet to be always unfortunate at sea.

Contrary winds first put up to the northward, and we were obliged to put in at Galway, in Ireland, where we lay wind-bound two-and-twenty days ; but we had this satisfaction with the disaster, that provisions were here exceeding cheap, and in the utmost plenty ; so that while we lay here we never touched the ship's stores, but rather added to them ; here also I took in several live hogs, and two cows, and calves, which I resolved, if I had a good passage, to put on shore in my island ; but we found occasion to dispose otherwise of them.

We set out the 5th of February, from Ireland, and had a very fair gale of wind for some days. As I remember, it might be about the 20th of February in the evening, late, when the mate having the watch, came into the round-house, and told us he saw a flash of fire, and heard a gun fired ; and while he was telling us of it, a boy came in, and told us the boatswain heard another. This made us all run out upon the quarter-deck, where for a while we heard nothing, but in a few minutes we saw a very great light, and found that there was some

very terrible fire at a distance ; immediately we had recourse to our reckonings, and all agreed that there could be no land in the direction of the fire, no, not for 500 leagues, for it appeared at W.N.W. Upon this we concluded it must be some ship on fire at sea ; from the noise of guns, heard just before, we concluded it could not be far off, and stood directly towards it. The farther we sailed, the greater the light appeared, though the weather being hazy we could perceive nothing but the flames for a while ; in about half an hour's sailing, the wind being fair for us, though not much of it, and the weather clearing up a little, we could plainly discern a great ship on fire in the middle of the sea.



I was most sensibly touched with this disaster ; I recollected what condition I was in when taken up by the Portuguese captain ; but how much more deplorable the circumstances of the poor creatures belonging to this ship must be if they had no other ship in company with them : upon this I immediately ordered that five guns should be fired, one soon after another, that, if possible, we might give notice to them that there was help at hand, and that they might endeavour to save themselves in their boat ; for though we could see the flame of the ship, yet they, it being night, could see nothing of us.

We lay by some time upon this, only driving as the burning ship drove, waiting for day-light ; when on a sudden, to our great terror, though we had reason to expect it, the ship blew up in the air, and immediately, that is to say, in a few minutes, all the fire was out, and the rest of the ship sunk ; this was a terrible, and indeed afflicting

sight ; for the sake of the poor men, who, I concluded, must be either all destroyed in the ship, or be in the utmost distress in their boat in the middle of the ocean, which at present, by reason it was dark, I could not see : however, to direct them as well as I could, I caused lights to be hung out in all the parts of the ship ; and kept firing guns all the night long ; letting them know by this, that there was a ship not far off.

About eight o'clock in the morning, we discovered the ship's boats, by the help of our glasses ; there were two of them, both thronged with people, and deep in the water ; we perceived they rowed, the wind being against them ; that they saw our ship, and did their utmost to make us see them.

We immediately spread our ancient, to let them know we saw them ; and hung a waft out, as a signal for them to come on board ; and then made more sail, standing directly to them. In a little more than half an hour, we came up with them, and, in a word, took them all in, being no less than sixty-four men, women, and children ; for there were a great many passengers. We found it was a French merchant-ship of 300 ton, homeward bound from Quebec. The master gave us a long account of the distress of his ship, how the fire began in the steerage by the negligence of one of the men ; it was, as everybody thought, entirely put out : when they found that some sparks of the first fire had gotten into another part of the ship, so difficult to come at, that they could not quench it, till getting between the timbers, and within the ceiling of the ship, it penetrated into the hold, and mastered all the skill and application they were able to exert. They got into their boats, which, to their great comfort, were pretty large : being a long boat, and a great shallop, besides a small skiff, which was of no great service to them, other than to carry some fresh water and provisions. They had sails, oars, and a compass ; and were preparing to make the best of their way back to Newfoundland, the wind blowing an easy gale at S.E. by E. They had as much provisions and water, as, with sparing it so as to be next door to starving, might support them about twelve days ; in which, if they had no bad weather, and no contrary winds, the captain hoped he might reach the banks of Newfoundland. But there were many chances against them ; storms to overset and founder them ; rains and cold to benumb their limbs ; contrary winds to keep them out and starve them ; that it must have been next to miraculous if they had escaped in this way. In the midst of their consultations, every one being hopeless, and ready to despair, as the captain told me with tears in his eyes, they heard the guns which I caused to be fired

at first seeing the light : this revived their hearts, and gave them the notice that there was a ship at hand for their help. Upon hearing these guns, they took down their masts and sails ; and the sound coming from the windward, they resolved to lie by till morning. Some time after hearing no more guns, they fired three muskets, one a considerable while after another ; but these, the wind being contrary, we never heard. Some time after that again, they were still more agreeably surprised with seeing our lights, and hearing the guns which I caused to be fired during the night : this set them to work with their oars to keep their boats a-head, at least that we might the sooner come up with them ; and at last, to their inexpressible joy, they found we saw them.

It is impossible for me to express the strange ecstasies, the variety of postures, which these poor people threw themselves into, to express the joy of their souls at so unexpected a deliverance. Grief and fear are easily described ; sighs, tears, groans, and a very few motions of the head and hands, make up the sum of its variety ; but an excess of joy, a surprise of joy, has a thousand extravagances in it : they were thrown into a kind of frenzy ; there were some in tears, some raging and tearing themselves, as if they had been in the greatest agonies of sorrow ; some stark raving and downright lunatic ; some ran about the ship stamping with their feet, others wringing their hands ; some were dancing, some singing, some laughing, more crying ; many quite dumb, not able to speak a word ; others sick and vomiting, several swooning, and ready to faint ; and a few were crossing themselves and giving God thanks. Perhaps the particular nation they belonged to had something to do with this. The French are allowed to be more volatile, more passionate, and more sprightly, and their spirits more fluid, than any other nations. I am not philosopher enough to determine the cause, but nothing I had ever seen before came up to it : the ecstasies poor Friday, my trusty savage, was in, when he found his father in the boat, came the nearest to it ; and the surprise of the master, and his two companions, whom I delivered from the villains that set them on shore in the island, came a little way towards it ; but nothing that I saw either in Friday, or any where else in my life could compare to this.

There were two priests among them, one an old man, and the other a young one. As soon as the old man set his foot on board our ship, and saw himself safe, he dropped down stone-dead, to all appearance ; not the least sign of life could be perceived in him ; our surgeon immediately applied proper remedies to recover him : and was the only

man in the ship that believed he was not dead. He opened a vein in his arm, having first chafed and rubbed the part, so as to warm it as much as possible : upon this the blood, which only dropped at first, flowed something freely ; in three minutes after, the man opened his eyes ; and about a quarter of an hour after that, he spoke, grew better, and was quite well ; after the blood was stopped, he walked about, told us he was perfectly well, took a dram of cordial which the surgeon gave him, and was what we call come to himself ; about a quarter of an hour after, they came running into the cabin to the surgeon, who was bleeding a Frenchwoman that had fainted ; and told him the priest had gone stark mad. It seems he had begun to revolve the change of his circumstances, and again this put him into an ecstasy of joy : his spirits whirled about faster than the vessels could convey them ; the blood grew hot and feverish ; and the man was as fit for Bedlam as any creature that ever was in it ; the surgeon would not bleed him again in that condition, but gave him something to put him to sleep, which, after some time, operated upon him, and he waked the next morning perfectly composed and well.

The younger priest behaved with more self-command, and was really an example of a serious well-governed mind ; at his first coming on board the ship, he threw himself flat on his face, prostrating himself in thankfulness for his deliverance ; in which I unhappily and unseasonably disturbed him, really thinking he was in a swoon ; but he spake calmly ; thanked me ; told me he was giving God thanks for his deliverance ; begged me to leave him a few moments, and that, next to his Maker, he would give me thanks also. He continued in that posture about three minutes, or a little more, after I left him ; then came to me, as he had said he would, and, with a great deal of seriousness and affection, but with tears in his eyes, thanked me, that had, under God, given him, and so many miserable creatures, their lives. After this he applied himself to his country folks ; laboured to compose them ; persuaded, entreated, argued, reasoned with them, and did his utmost to keep them within the exercise of their reason. With some he had success, though others were, for a time, out of all government of themselves.

We were something disordered by these extravagances among our new guests for the first day ; but when they retired, lodgings being provided for them as well as our ship would allow, and had slept heartily, as most of them did, they were quite another sort of people the next day.

Nothing of good manners, or civil acknowledgments for the kindness

shown them, was wanting ; the French, it is known, are naturally apt enough to exceed that way. The captain, and one of the priests, came to me the next day ; and desiring to speak with me and my nephew, the commander, began to consult with us what should be done with them ; and first they told us, that, as we had saved their lives, so all they had was little enough as a return to us for that kindness received. The captain said they had saved some money and some things of value in their boats, caught hastily up out of the flames ; and if we would accept it, they were ordered to make an offer of it all to us ; they only desired to be set on shore somewhere in our way, whence they might get passage to France.

My nephew was for accepting their money, but began to consider what to do with them afterwards. I knew what it was to be set on shore in a strange country ; and if the Portuguese captain that took me up at sea had taken all I had for my deliverance, I must have starved, or have been as much a slave at the Brasils, as I had been in Barbary ; perhaps a Portuguese is not a much better master than a Turk, if not, in some cases, a much worse.

I therefore told the French captain, that it was our duty to relieve them, as we were fellow-creatures, and as we would desire to be so delivered, if we were in the like extremity ; that we had done nothing for them, but what we believed they would have done for us if our cases had been reversed, but that we took them up to save them, not to plunder them ; or to set them on shore and leave them : that this would be first to save them from death, and then kill them ourselves ; save them from drowning, and then abandon them to starving ; and therefore nothing should be taken from them. As to setting them on shore, our ship was bound to the East Indies ; and though we were driven out of course to the westward a great way, directed perhaps by Heaven for their deliverance, yet it was impossible for us wilfully to change our voyage ; nor could my nephew, the captain, answer it to the freighters, with whom he was under charter-party to pursue his voyage by the way of the Brasils ; all he could do for them was, to put ourselves in the way of meeting with ships homeward-bound from the West Indies, and get them passage, if possible, to England or France.

The first part of the proposal was so generous and kind, they could not but be very thankful for it : but they were in great consternation, especially the passengers, at the notion of being carried away to the East Indies. They entreated me, seeing that I was driven so far to the westward before I met with them, I would at least keep on the same course to the banks of Newfoundland, where it was probable I might

meet with some ship or sloop that they might hire to carry them back to Canada, from whence they came.

I thought this was but a reasonable request on their part; and therefore I inclined to agree to it; for indeed I considered, that to carry this whole company to the East Indies, would not only be an intolerable severity upon the poor people, but would be ruining our whole voyage by devouring all our provisions; so I thought it no breach of charter-party but what an unforeseen accident, in which no one could say we were to blame, made absolutely necessary to us; for the laws of God and man would have forbid that we should refuse to take up two boats full of people in such a distressed condition; and the nature of the thing, as well respecting ourselves as the poor people, obliged us to set them on shore somewhere or other for their deliverance; so I consented that we would carry them to Newfoundland, if wind and weather would permit; and if not, to Martinico in the West Indies.

The wind continued fresh easterly, but the weather pretty good; and as the winds had continued in the points between N.E and S.E. a long time, we missed several opportunities of sending them to France; for we met several ships bound for Europe, whereof two were French from St. Christopher's; but they had been so long beating up against the wind, that they durst not take in passengers for fear of wanting provisions for the voyage, as well for themselves as for those they should take in; so we were obliged to go on. It was about a week after this, that we made the banks of Newfoundland, where, to shorten my story, we put all our French people on board a bark, which they hired at sea to put them on shore there, and afterwards to carry them to France: when, I say, all the French went on shore, I should remember, that the young priest I spoke of, hearing we were bound to the East Indies, desired to go the voyage with us, and to be set on shore on the coast of Coromandel, which I readily agreed to: for I wonderfully liked the man, and had very good reason to do so, as will appear afterwards; four of the seamen also entered themselves into our ship, and proved very useful fellows.

From hence we directed our course for the West Indies, steering away S. and S. by E. for about twenty days together, sometimes with little or no wind at all, when we met with another subject for our humanity to work upon, almost as deplorable as that before.

It was in the latitude of twenty-seven degrees five minutes N. and the 19th day of March, 1694, when we spied a sail, our course being S.E. and by S. We soon perceived it was a large vessel, and that she bore up to us; but could make nothing of her, till coming a little nearer, we found

she had lost her main-top mast, foremast, and bowsprit; she was a ship of Bristol, but had been blown out of the road at Barbadoes, a few days before she was ready to sail, by a terrible hurricane, while the captain and chief mate were both gone on shore; they had been some weeks at sea, and had already met with another storm; they were almost starved for want of provisions, besides the fatigues they had undergone; their bread and flesh was quite gone, they had not an ounce left in the ship, and had had none for eleven days; the only relief they had, was, that their water was not all spent, and they had about half a barrel of flour left, also sugar enough, and seven casks of rum.

There was a youth and his mother, and a maid-servant, on board, who were going passengers, and thinking the ship was ready to sail, unhappily came on board the evening before the hurricane began; and, having no provisions of their own left, they were in a more deplorable condition than the rest; for the seamen being reduced to such an extreme necessity themselves, had no compassion, we may be sure, for the poor passengers; and they were indeed in a condition that their misery is very hard to describe.

We immediately supplied them with what we could spare; and indeed I had so far over-ruled things with my nephew, that I would have victualled them, though we had gone away to the coast of America to have supplied ourselves; but there was no necessity for that.

But now they were in a new danger; for they were afraid of eating too much, even of that little we gave them: the second mate, now commander, brought six men with him in his boat; but these poor wretches looked like skeletons, and were so weak, they could hardly sit to their oars: the mate himself was very ill, and half-starved; for he declared he had reserved nothing from the men, and went share and share alike with them in every bit of food. I cautioned them to eat sparingly while I set meat before them, not forgetting the starving crew that were left on board, for I ordered my own boat to go on board the ship, with my mate and twelve men, to carry them a sack of bread and four or five pieces of beef to boil. Our surgeon charged the men to cause the meat to be boiled while they stayed, and to keep guard in the cook-room to prevent the crew taking it to eat raw, or taking it out of the pot before it was well boiled, and then to give every man but a very little at a time; by this caution he saved the men, who would otherwise have killed themselves with the very food that was given them to save their lives.

At the same time I ordered the mate to go into the great cabin, and see what condition the passengers were in, and, if they were alive,

to comfort them and give them what refreshment was proper ; the surgeon giving him a large pitcher with some of the prepared broth which he had given to the mate, and which he did not question would restore them gradually.

Not satisfied with this, but having a great mind to see the scene of misery which I knew the ship itself would present me with, in a more lively manner than I could have it by report, I took the captain of the ship, as we now called him, with me, and went myself a little after in their boat.

I found the poor men on board almost in a tumult to get the victuals out of the boiler before it was ready : but my mate observed his orders, and kept a good guard at the cook-room door ; and the men he placed there, after using all possible persuasion to them to have



patience, kept them off by force ; however, he caused some biscuit cakes to be dipped in the pot, and thus softened with the liquor of the meat, which they call brewis, gave one to each of them, to stay their stomachs, telling them it was for their own safety, that he was obliged to give them but a little at a time. But it was all in vain, and had I not come on board, with their own commander and officers, and with good words and some threats also of giving them no more, I believe they would have broke into the cook-room by force, and torn the meat out of the furnace ; for words are indeed of very small force with a hungry belly : however, we pacified them, and fed them gradually and cautiously for the first time, and the next time gave them more, and at last filled their bellies, and the men did well enough. But the

misery of the poor passengers in the cabin was of another nature, and far beyond the rest.

The poor mother, who was a woman of sense and good breeding, had spared all she could get so affectionately for her son, that at last she entirely sunk under it : and when the mate of our ship went in, she sat upon the floor or deck, with her back up against the sides, between two chairs, which were lashed fast, and her head sunk in between her shoulders, like a corpse, though not quite dead. The mate said all he could to revive and encourage her, and with a spoon put some broth into her mouth : she opened her lips, and lifted up one hand, but could not speak ; yet she understood what he said, and made signs to him, intimating that it was too late for her, but pointed to her child, as if she would have said they should take care of him.

However, the mate, who was much moved with the sight, endeavoured to get some of the broth into her mouth ; and, as he said, got two or three spoonfuls down, though I question whether he could be sure of it or not ; but it was too late, she died the same night.

The youth who was preserved at the price of this most affectionate mother's life, was not so far gone ; yet he lay in a cabin-bed stretched out, with hardly any life left in him ; he had a piece of an old glove in his mouth, having eaten up the rest of it. However, being young, and having more strength than his mother, the mate got something down his throat, and he began sensibly, to revive, but by giving him some time after two or three spoonfuls extraordinary, he was very sick, and brought it up again.

The next care was the poor maid : she lay all along the deck hard by her mistress, and just like one that had fallen down with an apoplexy, and struggled for life ; her limbs were distorted, one of her hands was clasped round the frame of a chair, and she griped it so hard that we could not easily make her let go ; her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, set fast against the frame of the cabin-table ; in short, she lay just like one in the last agonies of death, and yet she was alive too. The poor creature was not only starved with hunger, and terrified with the thoughts of death, but was broken-hearted for her mistress, whom she loved most tenderly, and whom she saw dying two or three days before. With great application our surgeon recovered her as to life, but he had her upon his hands as to her senses, for she was little less than distracted for a considerable time after.

Our business, however, was to relieve the distressed ship's crew, but not to lie by for them ; and though they were willing to steer the same

course with us for some days, yet we could carry no sail to keep pace with a ship that had no masts : however, as their captain begged of us to help him to set up a main top-mast, and a kind of a top-mast to his jury fore-mast, we did, as it were, lie by him for three or four days ; and then, having given him five barrels of beef, a barrel of pork, two hogsheads of biscuit, and a proportion of peas, flour, and what other things we could spare ; and taking three casks of sugar, some rum, and some pieces of eight of them for satisfaction, we left them, taking on board with us, at their own earnest request, the youth, and the maid, and all their goods.

I was now in the latitude of 19 deg. 32 min. and had hitherto had a tolerable voyage as to weather, though at first the winds had been contrary. For brevity's sake I shall now only observe, that I came to my old habitation, the island, on the 10th of April, 1694. It was with no small difficulty that I found the place, for as I came to it before, on the south and east side of the island, coming from the Brasils, so now coming in between the main and the island, and having no chart for the coast, nor any landmark, I did not know it when I saw it. We beat about a great while, therefore, and went on shore on several islands in the mouth of the great river Oroonoke, but none for my purpose ; only this I learned by my coasting the shore, that I was under a great mistake before, in supposing that the land I saw from the island I lived in was a continent, it was in reality a long island, or rather a group of islands, stretching from one to the other side of the extended mouth of that great river ; and that the savages who came to my island were not properly those which we call Caribbees, but islanders, and other barbarians of the same kind, who inhabited the islands on our side. In short, I visited several of these islands to no purpose ; some I found were inhabited, and some were not. On one of them I found some Spaniards, and thought at first they lived there ; but speaking with them I found they had a sloop in a small creek hard by, and that they came hither to make salt, and catch pearl-muscles, but they belonged to the Island of Trinidad, which lay further north, in latitude of 10 and 11 degrees.

At last, however, coasting from one island to another, sometimes with the ship, sometimes with the Frenchmen's shallop (which we had found a convenient boat, and therefore kept with their very good will), at length I came fair on the south side of my island, and I presently knew the very countenance of the place ; so I brought the ship safe to an anchor, broadside with the little creek where was my old habitation.

As soon as I saw the place, I called for Friday and asked him if he

knew where he was? He looked about a little, and presently clapping his hands, cried, "O yes, O there, O yes, O there!" pointing to our old habitation, and fell a dancing and capering like a mad fellow, and I had much ado to keep him from jumping into the sea, to swim on shore to the place.

"Well, Friday," says I, "do you think we shall find anybody here, or no? and what do you think, shall we see your father?" The fellow stood mute as a stock a good while; but when I named his father, the poor affectionate creature looked dejected, and the tears ran down his face very plentifully. "What is the matter, Friday?" said I. "Are you troubled because you may see your father?" "No, no," says he, shaking his head, "no see him more, no ever more see again." "Why so," said I, "Friday, how do you know that?" "O no, O no," says Friday, "he long die; long ago, he much old man." "Well, well," says I, "Friday, you don't know; but shall we see anyone else then?" The fellow, it seems, had better eyes than I, and he points just to the hill above my old house; and though we lay half a league off, he cries out, "We see! we see! yes, we see much man there, and there, and there." I looked, but I could see nobody, no, not with the glass; which was, I suppose, because I could not hit the place; for the fellow was right, as I found upon inquiry the next day, five or six men stood there to look at the ship, not knowing what to think of it.

As soon as Friday had told me he saw people, I caused the English ancient to be spread, and fired three guns, to give them notice we were friends; about half a quarter of an hour after, we perceived smoke rising from the side of the creek; so I immediately ordered a boat out, taking Friday with me; and, hanging out a white flag, or flag of truce, I went directly on shore, taking with me the young priest I mentioned, to whom I had told the whole story of my living there, and the manner of it, and every particular, both of myself, and those I left there; which had made him extremely desirous to go with me. We had besides about sixteen men very well armed, if we had found any new guest there which we did not know of; but we had no need of weapons.

As we went on shore upon the tide of flood, near high water, we rowed directly into the creek; and the first man I fixed my eye upon was the Spaniard, whose life I had saved, and whom I knew by his face perfectly well. I intended to go on shore first myself; but there was no keeping Friday in the boat: for the affectionate creature had spied his father at a distance, a good way off from the Spaniards, where indeed I saw nothing of him; and if prevented from going on shore,



CRUSOE'S SECOND LANDING ON THE ISLAND

he would have jumped into the sea. He was no sooner on shore, than he flew to his father like an arrow out of a bow. It would have made any man shed tears, in spite of the firmest resolution, to have seen the first transports of this poor fellow's joys, when he came to his father; how he embraced him, kissed him, stroked his face, took him up in his arms, set him down upon a tree, and lay down by him; then stood and looked at him as any one would look at a strange picture, for a quarter of an hour together; then lie down upon the ground, and stroke his legs and kiss them, and then get up again, and stare at him; one would have thought the fellow bewitched; but it would have made a dog laugh to see how the next day his passion run out another way. In the morning he walked along the shore, to-and-again, with his father, several hours, always leading him by the hand, as if he had been a lady; and every now-and-then he would fetch something or other for him from the boat, either a lump of sugar or a dram, a biscuit, or something or other that was good. In the afternoon his frolics ran another way; for then he would set the old man down upon the ground, and dance about him, and make a thousand antic postures and gestures; and all the while he did this, he would be talking to him, and telling him one story after another of his travels, and of what had happened to him abroad, to divert him. In short, if the same filial affection were always found in Christians to their parents, one would be tempted to say, there would have been hardly any need of the fifth commandment.

It would be endless to take notice of all the ceremonies and civilities that the Spaniards received me with. The first, whom I knew very well, was he whose life I had saved: he came towards the boat, attended by another, carrying a flag of truce also; he did not know me at first, had no notion even of its being me, till I spoke to him. Seignor, said I in Portuguese, do you not know me? He spoke not a word; but giving his musket to the man that was with him, threw his arms abroad, and saying something in Spanish that I did not perfectly hear, came forward and embraced me, telling me, he was inexcusable not to know that face again that he had once seen, as of an angel from heaven sent to save his life: he said abundance of very handsome things, as a well-bred Spaniard always knows how; and then beckoning to the person that attended him, bade him go and call out his comrades. He then asked me if I would walk to my old habitation, where he would give me possession of my own house again, and where I should see there had been but mean improvements. So I walked along with him; but, alas! I could no more find the place, than if I had

never been there; for they had planted so many trees, and placed them in such a posture, so thick and close to one another, that in ten years' time they had grown so big, that the place was inaccessible, except by such windings, and blind ways, as those only who made them could find.

I asked them, what put them upon all these fortifications? He told me, I would say there was need enough of it, when I learnt how they had passed their time, especially after they found that I was gone. He could not but have satisfaction in my good fortune, when he heard that I had gone away in a good ship; he had oftentimes a strong persuasion, that one time or other he should see me again; but nothing that ever befel him in his life, he said, was so surprising and afflicting to him at first, as the disappointment he was under when he came back to the island, and found I was not there.

As to the three barbarians (so he called them) that were left behind, and of whom he said he had a long story to tell me; the Spaniards all thought themselves much better among the savages, only that their number was so small. And, says he, had they been strong enough, we had been all long ago in purgatory; and with that he crossed himself on the breast. But, Sir, says he, I hope you will not be displeased, when I shall tell you how, forced by necessity, we were obliged, for our own preservation, to disarm them, and make them our subjects, who would not be content with being moderately our masters, but would be our murderers. I answered, I was heartily afraid of it when I left them there; and nothing troubled me at my parting from the island, but that they were not come back, that I might have put them in possession of everything first, and leave the other in a state of subjection, as they deserved: but if they had reduced them to it, I was very glad, and should be very far from finding any fault with it; for I knew they were a parcel of refractory ungovernable savages, fit for any manner of mischief.

While I was speaking, came the man whom he had sent back, and with him eleven men more. In the dress they were in, it was impossible to guess what nation they were of; but he made all clear both to them and to me. First, he turned to me, and pointing to them, he said, These, Sir, are some of the gentlemen who owe their lives to you; and then turning to them, and pointing to me, he let them know who I was; upon which they all came up one by one, not as if they had been sailors, and ordinary fellows, and I the like, but really as if they had been ambassadors or noblemen, and I a monarch, or a great conqueror: their behaviour was to the last degree obliging and courteous,

and yet mixed with a manly majestic gravity, which very well became them; and, in short, they had so much more manners than I, that I scarce knew how to receive their civilities, much less how to return them in kind.

The history of their coming to, and conduct in the island, after my going away, is so very remarkable, and has so many incidents, which the former part of my relation will help the reader to understand, that I cannot but commit them to the reading of those that come after me. I shall, however, no longer trouble them with a relation in the first person, which will put me to the expense of ten thousand said I's, and said he's, and he told me's, and I told him's, and the like; but I shall collect the facts historically from memory, as they were related to me.

In order to do this succinctly, and as intelligibly as I can, I must go back to the circumstances in which I left the island, and in which the persons were, of whom I am to speak. And first, it is necessary to repeat, that I had sent away Friday's father and the Spaniard, the two whose lives I had rescued from the savages; I say, I had sent them away in a large canoe to the main, as I then thought it, to fetch over the Spaniard's companions, whom he had left behind, in order to save them from the like calamity that he had been in, and in order to succour them for the present, and that, if possible, we might together find some way for our deliverance afterward.

When I sent them away, I had not the least room to hope for my own deliverance any more than I had twenty years before; much less had I any foreknowledge of an English ship coming on shore there to fetch me off; and it could not but be a very great surprise to them, when they came back, not only to find that I was gone, but to find three strangers left on the spot, possessed of all that I had left behind me, which would otherwise have been their own.

The first thing, which I enquired into, was that he would give me a particular account of his voyage back to his countrymen with the boat. He told me there was little variety in that part; for nothing remarkable happened to them on the way, they having very calm weather, and a smooth sea: for his countrymen, it could not be doubted, he said, but that they were overjoyed to see him (it seems he was the principal man among them, the captain of the vessel they had been shipwrecked in having been dead some time): they were, he said, the more surprised to see him, because they knew that he was fallen into the hands of savages, who, they were satisfied, would devour him as they did all the rest of their prisoners; that when he told them the story of his deliverance, and in what manner he was furnished for carrying them

away, it was like a dream to them ; their astonishment, they said, was something like that of Joseph's brethren, when he told them who he was, and told them the story of his exaltation in Pharaoh's court : but when he showed them the arms, the powder, the ball, and the provisions that he brought them for their voyage, they were restored to themselves, took a just share of the joy of their deliverance, and immediately prepared to come away with him.

Their first business was to get canoes ; and in this they were obliged to trespass upon their friendly savages, so far as to borrow two large canoes or periaguas, on pretence of going out a-fishing. In these they came away the next morning ; for they had no baggage, neither clothes, or provisions, or anything in the world, but what they had on them,



and a few roots to eat, of which they used to make their bread. He was in all three weeks absent, and in that time I had the occasion offered for my escape, leaving three of the most impudent, hardened, ungovernable villains behind me, that a man could desire to meet with. The only just thing the rogues did, when the Spaniards came on shore was, to give my letter to them with provisions and other such relief, as I had ordered them to do ; they gave them also the long paper of directions, which I had left with them, containing the particular methods which I took for managing every part of my life there ; how I baked my bread, bred up tame goats, and planted my corn ; how I cured my grapes, made my pots, in a word, everything I did : all this being written down, they gave to the Spaniards, two of whom understand

English well enough ; nor did they refuse to accommodate the Spaniards with other things, for they agreed very well for some time ; they gave them an equal admission into the house or cave, and they began to live very sociably together ; the head Spaniard, who had seen my method, and Friday's father together, managed all their affairs : for, as for the Englishmen, they did nothing but ramble about the island, shooting parrots, and catching tortoises : the Spaniards provided their suppers for them, when they came home at night.

The Spaniards would have been satisfied with this, but the others could not find in their heart to let them alone long ; like the dog in the manger, they would not eat themselves, neither would they let others eat. The differences, nevertheless, were at first but trivial, and such as are not worth relating ; but at last it broke out into open war, and it begun with all the rudeness and insolence that can be imagined, without reason, without provocation, contrary to nature, and indeed to common sense ; and though the first relation of it came from the Spaniards, whom I may call the accusers, yet when I came to examine the fellows themselves, they could not deny a word of it.

But before I came to the particular of this part, I must supply a defect in my former relation ; bearing upon these events, just as we were weighing anchor to set sail, a quarrel broke out on board our ship, which was likely to have produced a second mutiny ; nor was it appeased till the captain, interfering, parted them by force, putting two of the most refractory fellows who had been active in the former disorders, in irons ; threatening to carry them to England in that state, and have them hanged there for mutiny and plotting to run away with the ship. This frightened some other men in the ship ; and they put it into the heads of the rest, that the captain only gave them good words for the present, intending when he reached an English port that they should be all put into gaol, and tried for their lives. The mate got intelligence of this, and acquainted us with it ; upon which it was desired, that I should go down and satisfy the men, that if they behaved well during the rest of the voyage, all they had done for the time past should be pardoned. So I went, and passing my honour to them to that effect, caused the two men who were in irons to be released and forgiven.

But this mutiny had brought us to an anchor for that night, the wind also falling calm, and next morning we found that our two men who had been in irons, had stole each of them a musket, and other weapons, with powder and shot, and had taken the ship's pinnace, which was not yet hauled up, and ran away with her to their companions in

roguery on the shore. I ordered the long boat on shore, with twelve men and the mate, to seek them, but they could not be found, for they all fled into the woods when they saw the boat coming on shore. He returned leaving everything as he found it, bringing the pinnace away.

These two additional men made their number five ; but the other three villains were so much wickeder than these, that after they had been two or three days together, they turned the new-comers out of doors to shift for themselves. When the Spaniards came, they would have persuaded the three English brutes to take in their two countrymen again, that, as they said, they might be all one family ; but they would not hear of it ; so the two poor fellows lived by themselves, and finding that by industry and application they could live very comfortably, they pitched their tents on the north shore of the island, but a little more to the west, so to be out of danger from the savages, who always landed on the east parts.

Here they built themselves two huts, one to lodge in, and the other to lay up their magazines and stores ; and the Spaniards having given them some corn for seed, and especially some of the peas which I had left, they dug, planted, and enclosed after the pattern I had set for them, and began to live pretty well. Their first crop of corn was on the ground, and though it was but a little bit of land which they had dug up at first, having had but little time, yet it was enough to relieve them, and find them in bread or other eatables ; and one of the fellows, being the cook's mate of the ship, was very ready at making soup, puddings, and such other preparations, as the rice and the milk, and such little flesh as they got, furnished him with the means.

They were going on this little thriving way, when the three rogues, their countrymen, in mere wanton humour, and to insult them, came and bullied them, told them the island was theirs ; that the governor, meaning me, had given them possession of it, and nobody else had any right to it ; and, damn them, they should build no houses upon their ground, unless they agree to pay them rent for it.

The two men thought them jesting at first ; asked them to come and sit down, and see what fine houses they had built, asking what rent they demanded : and one of them merrily added, since they were the ground-landlords, he hoped if they built tenements upon the land, and made improvements, they would, according to the custom of all landlords, grant them a long lease ; and find them a scrivener to draw up the writings. One of the three, in a rage, told them they should see it was no jest ; and going to a little place at a distance, where the honest men had made a fire to dress their victuals, he takes a fire-brand and

claps it to the outside of their hut, and very fairly set it on fire ; and it would have been all burnt down in a few minutes, if one of the two had not run to the fellow, thrust him away, and trod the fire out with his feet, and that not without some difficulty too.

The fellow turned upon him with a pole he had in his hand : and had not the man avoided the blow very nimbly, and run into the hut, he had ended his days at once. His comrade seeing the danger they were both in, ran in after him, and immediately they both came out with their muskets ; and the man that was first struck at with the pole, knocked the fellow down, that had begun the quarrel, with the stock of his musket, and that before the other two could come to help him ; and then seeing the rest come at them, they stood together, and presenting their pieces, bade them stand off.

The others had fire-arms with them too : but one of the two, bolder than his comrade, told them if they offered to move hand or foot, they were dead men ; and boldly commanded them to lay down their arms. They did not indeed lay down their arms ; but, seeing him so resolute, it brought them to a parley, and they consented to take their wounded man with them, and begone. Indeed, it seems the fellow was wounded sufficiently with the blow ; but they were much in the wrong not to disarm them effectually, as they might have done, and have got immediately to the Spaniards. Henceforth the three villains studied nothing but revenge, and every day gave them some indication that they did so. They trod down their corn, shot their three young kids, and a she-goat which the poor men had bred up tame for their store ; and, in a word, plagued them night and day, till the two men were driven to desperation, and they resolved to fight them all three the first fair opportunity. They resolved to go to the castle, as they called my old dwelling, where the three rogues and the Spaniards all lived together at that time, intending to have a fair battle, and that the Spaniards should stand by to see fair play. So they got up one morning before day, and came to the place, called out the Englishmen by their names, telling a Spaniard that answered, that they wanted to speak with them.

It had so happened that the day before two of the Spaniards, having been in the woods, had seen one of the two Englishmen, whom, for distinction, I call the honest man ; and he had made a sad complaint to the Spaniards, of the barbarous usage they met with from their three countrymen, how they had ruined their plantation, and destroyed their corn, that they had laboured so hard to bring forward, and killed the milch-goat, and their three kids, which was all they had provided for their sustenance ; and that if he and his friends, meaning the Spaniards,

did not assist them again, they would be starved. When the two Spaniards came home at night, they reproved the three Englishmen, though in very gentle and mannerly terms, asking how they could be so cruel, the others being harmless inoffensive fellows, subsisting by their own labour, and that it had cost them a great deal of pains to bring things to the state they had reached.

One of the Englishmen asked very briskly, "What had they to do there? They came on shore without leave, and should not plant or build upon the island; it was none of their ground." "Why," says the Spaniard, very calmly, "Seignior Inglese, they must not starve." The Englishman replied, like a true rough-hewn tarpaulin, "they might starve for him, but they should not plant or build." "But what must they do then, Seignior?" says the Spaniard. Another of the brutes returned, "Do! they should be our servants, and work for us." "But how can you expect that of them?" says the Spaniard, "they are not bought with your money; you have no right to make them servants." The Englishmen answered, the island was theirs, the governor had given it to them, and no man had anything to do there but themselves; and with that swore by his Maker, that they would go and burn all their new huts; they should build none upon their land.

"Why, Seignior," says the Spaniard, "by the same rule, we must be your servants too." "Ay," says the bold dog, "and so you shall too, before we have done with you," mixing two or three oaths in the proper intervals of his speech. The Spaniard only smiled at this, and made him no answer. However, this little discourse had heated them; and starting up, one says to the other, I think it was he they called Will Atkins, "come, Jack, let us go and have another brush with them; we will demolish their castle, I warrant me; they shall plant no colony in our dominions."

Upon this they went all trooping away, with every man a gun, a pistol, and a sword, and muttered some insolent things among themselves, of what they could do with the Spaniards, too, when opportunity offered; but the Spaniards, it seems, did not so perfectly understand their language as to know all these particulars; only that, in general, they were threatened for taking the part of the two Englishmen.

Whither they went, or how they bestowed their time that evening, the Spaniards said they did not know; but it seems they wandered about the country part of the night; and then lying down in the place which I used to call my bower, they were weary, and overslept themselves. They seem to have resolved on waiting till midnight, and then to take the two poor men when they were asleep; intending,

as they acknowledged afterwards, to set fire to their huts while they were in them, and either burn them in them, or murder them as they came out : and, as malice seldom sleeps very sound, it was very strange they should not have kept themselves awake.

However, as the two men had also a design upon them, though a much fairer one than that of burning and murdering, it happened, and very luckily for them all, that they were up and gone abroad, before the bloody-minded rogues came to their huts.

When they came there and found the men gone, Atkins, who it seems was the forwardest man, called out to his comrades, "Ha ! Jack, here's the nest ; but d——n them, the birds are flown !" they mused awhile to think what should be the occasion of their being gone abroad so soon, and presently suggested that the Spaniards had given them notice of their intention ; with that they shook hands, and swore to one another that they would be revenged of the Spaniards. As soon as they had made this bloody bargain, they fell to work with the poor men's habitation ; they did not set indeed fire to anything, but they pulled down both their little houses, and pulled them so limb from limb that they left not a stick standing, or scarce any sign on the ground where they stood ; they tore all their little collected household stuff in pieces, and threw everything about in such a manner, that the poor men afterwards found some of their things a mile away from their habitation. Having pulled up all the young trees the poor men had planted, destroyed an enclosure they had made to secure their cattle and their corn ; and, in a word, sacked and plundered everything as completely as a herd of Tartars would have done ; they returned to the old habitation. Had the parties met at this juncture, there certainly would have been bloodshed among them ; for they were all very stout resolute fellows, to give them their due.

When the three came back, like furious creatures, flushed with the rage which the work they had been about put them into, they came up to the Spaniards, and told them what they had done, by way of scoff and bravado ; and one of them stepping up to one of the Spaniards, as if they had been a couple of boys at play, takes his hat from his head, and giving it a twirl about, flinging it in his face, says he to him, "And you, Seignior Jack Spaniard, shall have the same sauce, if you do not mend your manners." The Spaniard, who, though a quiet civil man, was as brave as a man could desire to be, and withal a strong well-made man, looked steadily at him for a good while ; and then, having no weapon in his hand, stepped gravely up to him, and with one blow of his fist, knocked him down, as an ox is felled with a pole-axe. At this

one of the rogues fired his pistol at the Spaniard, missing his body indeed, for the bullets went through his hair, but one of them touched the tip of his ear, and he bled freely. The blood made the Spaniard believe he was more hurt than he really was, and that put him into some heat, for before he was perfectly calm; but now resolving to go through with his work, he stooped and took the fellow's musket whom he had knocked down, and was just going to shoot the man who had fired at him; when the rest of the Spaniards, being in the cave, came out, calling to him not to shoot; they stepped in, secured the other two, and took their arms from them.

When they were thus disarmed, finding they had made the Spaniards their enemies, as well as their own countrymen, they began to cool; and giving the Spaniards better words, would have had their arms again; but the Spaniards considering the feud that was between them and the other two Englishmen, thinking that would be the best method they could take to keep them from killing one another, told them they would do them no harm; and if they would live peaceably they would be very willing to assist and associate with them, as before; but that they could not think of giving them their arms again, while they appeared so resolved to do mischief to their own countrymen.

The rogues being refused their arms, they went raving away, and raging like madmen, threatening what they would do, though they had no fire-arms: but the Spaniards, despising their threatening, told them they should take care how they offered any injury to their plantations or cattle; for if they did, they would shoot them, as they would do wild beasts, wherever they found them; and if they fell into their hands alive, they should certainly hang them. This was far from cooling them; but away they went, raging and swearing like furies. As soon as they were gone, came back the two men in equal rage and passion enough, though of another kind; for, having been at their plantation, and finding it all demolished and destroyed, they had provocation enough; they could scarce have room to tell their tale, so eager the Spaniards were to tell them theirs; and it was strange enough to find, that three men thus bully nineteen, and receive no punishment at all. The Spaniards indeed despised them, and especially after having thus disarmed them, made light of all their threatenings; but the two Englishmen resolved to have their revenge against them, what pains soever it might cost to find them out.

But the Spaniards interposed here too, and told them, that as they had disarmed them, they could not consent that they should pursue them with fire-arms, and perhaps kill them: but, said the grave

Spaniard, who was their governor, we will endeavour to make them do you justice, if you will leave it to us, for, as there is no doubt but they will come to us again when their passion is over, being unable to subsist without our assistance, we promise you to make no peace with them without having a full satisfaction for you ; and upon this condition we hope you will promise to use no violence to them, other than in self-defence. The two Englishmen yielded to this proposal with great reluctance ; but the Spaniards protested, they did it only to prevent bloodshed, and to make all easy at last, for, said they, we are not so many of us ; here is room enough for us all, and it is great pity we should not be all good friends. At length they did consent, awaiting the issue for some days with the Spaniards. In five days the three vagrants, tired with wandering, and almost starved with hunger, having chiefly lived on turtles' eggs all that while, came back to the grove ; and finding my Spaniard, who, as I have said, was the governor, and two more with him, walking by the side of the creek, they came up in a humble submissive manner, and begged to be received again into the family. The Spaniards treated them civilly, but told them they had acted so unnaturally by their countrymen, and so very grossly by them (the Spaniards), that they could not come to any conclusion without consulting the two Englishmen, and the rest ; but, however, they would go to them, and discourse about it, and they should know the result in half an hour. It may be guessed that they were very hard put to it ; for it seems, as they were to wait this half-hour for an answer, they begged he would send them out some bread in the mean time ; which he did, sending them at the same time a large piece of goat's flesh, and a boiled parrot ; which they eat very heartily, for they were hungry enough.

After half an hour's consultation they were called in, and a long debate ensued, their two countrymen charging them with the ruin of all their labour, and a design to murder them ; all which they owned before, and therefore could not deny now ; upon the whole, the Spaniard acted the moderator between them ; and as they had urged the two Englishmen not to hurt the three, while they were naked and unarmed, so they now obliged the three to go and build their fellows two huts, one to be of the same, and the other of larger dimensions than they were before ; to fence their ground again, where they had pulled up the fences, plant trees in the room of those pulled up, dig up the land again for planting corn, where they had spoiled it ; and in a word to restore everything to the same state in which they found it, as near as they could ; for entirely it could not be, the

season for corn, and the growth of the trees and hedges, being beyond recovery.

Well, they submitted to all this; and as they had plenty of provisions, they grew more orderly, and the whole society began to live pleasantly and agreeably together; only that these three fellows could never be persuaded to work; I mean, for themselves, except now and then a little, just as they pleased; however, the Spaniards told them plainly, that if they would be friendly and live sociably together, and study the general welfare of the plantation, they would be content to work for them, and let them walk about and be as idle as they pleased; having thus lived pretty well together for a month or two, the Spaniards gave them their arms again, and gave them liberty to go abroad with them as before.

It was not above a week after they had these arms, and got abroad, before the ungrateful creatures began to be as insolent and troublesome as before: but, an incident happening presently upon this, which endangered the safety of them all, they were obliged to lay by all private resentments, and look to the preservation of their lives.

It happened one night, that the Spaniard whose life I had saved, who was now the captain, or leader, or governor of the rest, found himself very uneasy in the night, and could by no means get any sleep: he was perfectly well in body, as he told me the story, only he found his thoughts tumultuous; his mind ran upon men fighting and killing of one another, while he was broad awake, he could not by any means get to sleep; in short, he lay awake a great while; but growing more and more uneasy, he resolved to rise: as they lay upon goat-skins, laid thick upon such couches and pads as they had made for themselves, not in hammocks and ship beds as I did, so they had little to do, when they were willing to rise, but to get up on their feet, and perhaps put on a dress, such as it was, and their shoes. Being up, he looked out; but could see little or nothing; the darkness and the trees which I had planted, were now grown tall, and intercepted his sight, so that he could only look up, and see that it was a clear star-light night; and, hearing no noise, he returned and laid him down again; but still he could not sleep, nor could he compose himself to anything like rest, his thoughts were to the last degree uneasy, and yet he knew not why.

Having made some noise in rising and walking about, going out and coming in, another of them waked, and calling, asked who it was that was up? The governor told him, how it had been with him. "Say you so," says the other Spaniard; "such things are not to be slighted; there is certainly some mischief working near us;" and presently he

asked "Where are the Englishmen?" They are all in their huts, safe enough," says he. It seems the Spaniards had kept possession of the main apartment, making a place, where the three Englishmen, since their last mutiny, always quartered by themselves, and could not come at the rest. "Well," says the Spaniard, "there is something in it, I am persuaded from my own experience; I am satisfied our embodied spirits converse with, and receive intelligence from spirits unembodied inhabiting the invisible world; and that this friendly notice is given for our advantage, if we only know how to make use of it." "Come," says he, "let us go out and look abroad; and if we find nothing to justify our trouble, I will tell you a story to the purpose, that shall convince you of the justice of my proposing it."

In a word, they went out to go up to the top of the hill, where I used to go; but being strong, and in good company, they used none of my precautions of going up by the ladder, and then pulling it up to ascend a second stage to the top, but were going round through the grove unconcerned and unwary, when they were surprised by seeing a light as of fire, a very little way off from them, and hearing the voices of men, not of one or two, but in great number. ♦

In all the discoveries I had made of savages landing on the island, it was my constant care to prevent them discovering that there were inhabitants on the island; and when they came to know it, they felt it so effectually, that they who got away were scarce able to give any account of it, for we disappeared quickly, nor did ever any that had seen me escape to tell anyone else, except the three savages who jumped into the boat, in our last encounter. It presently appeared of those men, that so great a number as came now together, came ignorantly, and by accident, on their usual bloody errand; and it was their business, either to have concealed themselves, and avoid being seen at all, so as to lead the savages to suppose there were no inhabitants in the place, or to have fallen upon them so effectually, as that not a man of them should have escaped, which could only have been done by getting in between them and their boats; but this presence of mind was wanting, the consequence was the ruin of their tranquillity for a great while.

The governor, and the man with him, surprised at what they saw, ran back immediately, and raised their fellows, giving them an account of the imminent danger they were all in; they again as readily took the alarm, but could not be persuaded to stay close where they were, they must run out to see how things stood.

While it was dark, indeed, this was all well enough, and they had,

opportunity enough, or some hours, to view the savages by the light of three fires they had made at some distance from one another ; what they were doing was a mystery, and what to do themselves they knew not ; for, first, the enemy were too numerous to be cut off ; and, secondly, they did not keep together, but were divided into several parties along the shore.

The Spaniards were in no small consternation at this sight ; and finding that the fellows ran straggling all over the shore, they made no doubt, but that, first or last, some of them would chop in upon some place or other, where they would see the token of inhabitants ; they were also in great perplexity for their flock of goats, for it would have been little less than starving them, if they should be destroyed ; so the first thing resolved upon was to dispatch three men before it was light, namely, two Spaniards and an Englishman, to drive all the goats away to the great valley where the cave was, and, if need were, to drive them into the very cave itself.

Could they have seen the savages in one body, and at a distance from their canoes, they would have attacked them if they had been a huffred ; but that could not now be ; they were some of them two miles apart. After having mused a great while on the course they should take, and beaten their brains in considering their present circumstances, they resolved at last, while it was still dark, to send out the old savage (Friday's father) as a spy, to learn, if possible, something concerning them, what they came for, and what they intended to do. The old man readily undertook the task, and, stripping himself naked, as the savages were, away he went : after he had been gone an hour or two, he brings word, that he had been among them undiscovered, that he found they were two parties, and of two several nations at war with one another, they had had a great battle in their own country, and both sides, having taken prisoners in the fight, they had by mere chance landed in the island to feast upon their prisoners, and make merry ; but coming to the same place, had spoiled their mirth ; they were in great rage with one another ; and being so near, he believed they would fight again as soon as day-light appeared ; but he did not perceive that they had any notion of any body's being on the island but themselves. He had hardly made an end of his story, when it appeared by the unusual noise they made, that the two little armies were engaged in a bloody fight.

Friday's father used every argument he could to persuade our people to lie close, and not be seen ; he told them, their safety required it, that they had nothing to do but to lie still, and the savages would kill one another to their hands, and then the rest would go away ; and

it would have happened so. But it was impossible to prevail, especially upon the Englishmen ; their curiosity overcame all such prudentials, they must run out and see the battle ; however, they used some caution too, they went farther into the woods, and placed themselves to advantage, where they might securely see the fight, and, as they thought, remain unseen ; but the savages did see them, as we shall find hereafter.

The battle was very fierce ; one of the Englishmen said he could perceive among them were men of great bravery, of invincible spirit, and of great policy in guiding the fight. The battle, he said, held two hours, before they could guess which party would be beaten ; but then it appeared that the party which was nearest our habitation was the weakest, and after a time some of them began to fly ; this put our men again into a great consternation, lest any of those that fled should run for shelter into the grove before their dwelling, and thereby discover the place. They resolved that they would stand to their arms within the wall, and whoever came into the grove, they should sally out over the wall and kill them, so that none should return to give an account of it ; they ordered also, that it should be done with their swords, or by knocking them down with the stock of the musket, but not by shooting them, for fear of raising an alarm by the noise.



As was expected, so it fell out ; three of the routed army fled for life, and crossing the creek, ran directly into the place, not in the least knowing whither they went, but running as into a thick wood for

shelter ; the scout they kept abroad gave notice of this within, with the addition, that the conquerors had not pursued them, or seen which way they went. Upon this the Spaniard governor, a man of humanity, would not suffer them to kill the three fugitives ; but sending three men out by the top of the hill, ordered them to go round, and come in behind them, so as to surprise and take them prisoners, which was done ; the residue of the conquered people fled to their canoes and got off to sea ; the victors retired, making little or no pursuit, but drawing themselves into a body, gave two great screaming shouts by way of triumph, and so the fight ended ; the same day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, they also marched to their canoes. And thus the island was again free, and they saw no savages for several years after.

When they were all gone, our people came out of their den ; and, viewing the field of battle, they found about two-and-thirty dead bodies upon the spot ; some were killed with great long arrows, some of which were found sticking in their bodies ; but most of them were killed with great wooden swords, sixteen or seventeen of which they found in the field of battle, and as many bows, with a great many arrows. These swords were great strange unwieldy things, and they must be very strong men that used them : most of those that were killed with them had their heads smashed to pieces, or, as we call it in English, their brains knocked out, and several of their arms and legs broken ; so that it is evident they fight with inexpressible rage and fury. We found not one wounded man that was not stone dead ; for either they stay by their enemy till they have quite killed them, or they carry all the wounded away with them.

This deliverance tamed our Englishmen for a great while : the sight had filled them with horror, and the consequences appeared terrible to the last degree, even to them, if ever they should fall into the hands of those creatures, who would not only kill them as enemies, but kill them for food, as we kill our cattle. They professed to me, that the thoughts of being eaten up like beef or mutton, though it was supposed it was not to be till they were dead, had something in it so horrible, that it nauseated their very stomachs, made them sick when they thought of it, and filled their minds with such unusual terror, that they were not themselves for some weeks after.

This, as I said, tamed even the three English brutes I have been speaking of ; and, for a great while after, they were very tractable, and went about the common business of the society, they planted, sowed, reaped, and all began to be naturalized to the country ; but some time

after this they fell again into such measures which brought them into a great deal of trouble.

They had taken three prisoners, as I have observed ; and these three being lusty, stout young fellows, they made them servants, and taught them to work for them ; and, as slaves, they did well enough ; but they did not take their measures with them, as I did by my man Friday ; they did not ensure their gratitude upon the principle of having saved their lives, and then instruct them in the rational principles of life, civilizing and reducing them by kind usage and affectionate treatment ; but, as they gave them their food every day, so they gave them their work too, and kept them fully employed in drudgery ; therefore, they never had them to assist them and fight for them, as I had my man Friday, who was as true to me as the very flesh upon my bones.

Being now all good friends, they began to consider whether, seeing the savages particularly haunted that side of the island, and that there were more remote and retired parts of it equally adapted to their way of living, they should not rather remove their habitation, and plant in some place of greater security for their cattle and corn. After long debate, it was concluded that they would not remove their habitation ; because some time or other they thought they might hear from their governor again, meaning me ; and if I should send any one to seek them, I should be sure to direct them to that side of the island, where, if they should find the place demolished, it would be concluded that the savages had killed us all. But as to their corn and cattle, they agreed to remove a part of them into the valley where my cave was, where there was land enough, and to plant part of their corn there too, so that if one part was destroyed, the other might be saved ; they never, however, trusted the three savages, their prisoners, with a knowledge of the plantation they had made in that valley, or of any cattle, much less of the cave there, which they kept as a safe retreat in case of necessity ; they carried thither also the two barrels of powder which I had left them. They agreed also, as I had carefully covered it first with a wall or fortification, and then with a grove of trees ; so they also set to work to cover and conceal the place yet more effectually than before : to this purpose, as I had planted trees for some good distance before the entrance, they went on in the same manner, and filled up the rest of that whole space of ground, from the trees I had set, quite down to the side of the creek, where, as I said, I landed my floats, and even into the very ooze where the tide flowed, not so much as leaving any place to land, or any sign that there had been any landing thereabout. This they

did by planting stakes as I had done, which being of wood very forward to grow, they took care to have them generally much larger and taller than those which I had planted, and as they planted them thick and close together, when they had been growing three or four years there was no piercing into the plantation with the eye to any considerable way ; as for that part which I had planted, the trees were grown as large as a man's thigh ; and among them they placed so many other short ones, and so thick, that in a word it stood a growing impenetrable palisado for a quarter of a mile, a little dog could hardly get between the trees, they stood so close. The same was done by all the ground to the right hand, and to the left, and round even to the top of the hill ; leaving no way, even for themselves to come out, but by the ladder placed up to the side of the hill, which was lifted up after them, and placed again from stage to stage up to the top.

They had lived two years after this in perfect retirement, and had no more visits from the savages : they had indeed an alarm given early one morning ; for some of the Spaniards being out on the west end of the island, which, by the way, was that end where I never went for fear of being discovered, they saw above twenty canoes of Indians just coming on shore.

They made the best of their way home, in hurry enough, giving the alarm to their comrades ; they kept close all that day and the next, going out only at night to make observation ; but wherever the savages went, they did not land that time on the island. Now, however, they had another broil with the three Englishmen ; one of whom, a most turbulent fellow, being in a rage with one of the three slaves, because the fellow had not done something which he bid him do, and seeming a little untractable on his showing him, drew a hatchet out of a frog-belt, in which he wore it by his side, fell upon the poor savage, not to correct, but to kill him. One of the Spaniards, who was by, seeing him give the fellow a barbarous cut with the hatchet, which he aimed at his head, but struck into his shoulder, so that he thought he had cut the poor creature's arm off, ran to him, and entreating him not to murder the poor man, stepped in between him and the savage, to prevent mischief.

The fellow, being enraged the more at this, struck at the Spaniard with his hatchet, and swore he would serve him as he intended to serve the savage ; which the Spaniard perceiving, avoided the blow, and with a shovel, which he had in his hand (for they all were working in the field about their corn land), knocked the brute down : another of the Englishmen, running at the same time to help his comrade, knocked

the Spaniard down ; and then two more Spaniards coming to help their man, the third Englishman fell in upon them. They had none of them any fire-arms, or other weapons than hatchets and tools, except this third Englishman ; he had one of my old rusty cutlasses, with which he made at the two last Spaniards and wounded them both. This fray set the whole family in an uproar, and more help coming in, they took the three Englishmen prisoners. The next question was, What should be done with them ? They had been so often mutinous, and were so furious, so desperate, and so idle withal, that it was difficult to know what course to take with them, for they were mischievous to the highest degree, and valued not what hurt they did to any man ; so that, in short, it was not safe to live with them.

The governor told them in so many words, that if they had been his own countrymen, he would have hanged them ; for all laws, and all governors, were appointed to preserve society, and those who were dangerous to the society ought to be expelled from it ; but as they were Englishmen, and it was to the generous kindness of an Englishman that they all owed their preservation and deliverance, he would use them with all possible lenity, and leave them to the judgment of the other two Englishmen, their fellow-countrymen.

One of the two honest Englishmen stood up, and said, they desired it might not be left to them ; for, says he, I am sure we ought to sentence them to the gallows ; and with that he gives an account how Will Atkins, one of the three, had proposed to have all the five Englishmen join together and murder all the Spaniards when they were in their sleep.

When the Spanish governor heard this, he calls to William Atkins. How, Seignior Atkins, says he, would you murder us all ? What have you to say to that ? That hardened villain was so far from denying it, that he said it was true, and declared with an oath that they would do it still before they had done with them. Well, but Seignior Atkins, said the Spaniard, what have we done to you that you will kill us ? And what would you get by killing us ? And what must we do to prevent you killing us ? Must we kill you ? Why will you put us to the necessity of this, Seignior Atkins ? says the Spaniard very calmly, and smiling.

Seignior Atkins was in such a rage at the Spaniard's making a jest of it, that, had he not been withheld, and without weapons, he would have attempted to kill the Spaniard in the middle of all the company.

This hair-brained carriage obliged them to consider seriously what was to be done. The two Englishmen, and the Spaniard who saved the

poor savage, were of opinion they should hang one of the three for an example to the rest ; and that particularly it should be he that had twice attempted to commit murder with his hatchet ; and indeed there was some reason to believe he had done it, for the poor savage was in such a miserable condition from the wound he had received, that it was thought he could not live.

But the governor Spaniard still said, No, it was an Englishman that had saved all their lives, and he would never consent to put an Englishman to death ; nay, he said, if he had been killed himself by an Englishman, and had time left to speak, it should be a request that they should pardon him.

This was so positively insisted on by the governor Spaniard, that there was no gainsaying it ; and as merciful counsels are most apt to prevail, where they are so earnestly pressed, so they all came into it ; but then it was to be considered what should be done to keep them from doing the mischief they designed ; for all agreed, governor and all, that means were to be used for preserving the society from danger. After a long debate it was agreed, first, that the three should be disarmed, and not permitted to have either gun, or powder, or shot, or sword, or other weapon, and that they should be turned out of the society, and left to live where they would, and how they could, by themselves ; but that none of the rest, either Spaniards or English, should converse or have any thing to do with them ; that they should be forbid to come within a certain distance of the place where the rest dwelt ; and that if they offered to commit any disorder, so as to spoil, burn, kill, or destroy any of the corn, plantings, buildings, fences, or cattle belonging to the society, that they should be shot down wherever they could find them.

The governor, a man of great humanity, musing over this sentence, turned to the two honest Englishmen, and said, Hold ; you must reflect, that it will be long ere they can raise corn and cattle of their own, and they must not starve ; we must therefore allow them provisions. So he caused to be added to it that they should have a proportion of corn given them to last them eight months, and seed to sow, by which time they might be supposed to raise some of their own ; that they should have six milch-goats, four he-goats, and six kids, given them, as well for present subsistence as for a store ; and that they should have tools given them for their work in the field, such as, six hatchets, an axe, a saw, and the like ; but they should have none of these tools or provisions, unless they would swear solemnly that they would not use them to the hurt or injury of the community.

Thus they dismissed them the society, and turned them out to shift for themselves. They went away sullen and refractory, neither contented to go away or to stay ; but as there was no remedy, they went, pretending to go and choose a place where they should plant and live by themselves : provisions being given, them, but no weapons.

About four or five days after, they came again for some victuals, and gave the governor an account where they had pitched their tents, and marked themselves out a habitation and plantation. It was a very convenient place indeed, on the remotest part of the island, N.E. much about the place where I landed in my first voyage, when I was driven out to sea, the Lord knows whither, in my attempt to sail round the island.

Here they built themselves two handsome huts, close under the side of a hill, having some trees growing already to the three sides of it ; so that by planting others, it would be very easily concealed from the sight, unless narrowly searched for. They desired some dried goat-skins for beds and covering, which were given them ; and upon giving their words that they would not disturb the rest, or injure any of their plantations, hatchets were given them, and what other tools could be spared : some peas, barley, and rice, for sowing, and, in a word, all they wanted except arms and ammunition.

They lived in this separate condition about six months, and had got in their first harvest, though the quantity was but small, the quantity of land they had planted being but little ; for, indeed, having all their plantation to form, they had a great deal of work upon their hands ; and when they came to make boards, and pots, and such things, they were quite out of their element, and could make nothing of it. When the rainy season came on, for want of a cave in the earth, they could not keep their grain dry, and it was in great danger of spoiling, and this humbled them much ; so they came and begged the Spaniards to help them, which they very readily did, and in four days worked a great hole in the side of the hill for them, big enough to secure their corn and other things from the rain ; but it was but a poor place at best, compared to mine, and especially as mine was then, for the Spaniards had greatly enlarged it, and made several new apartments in it.

About three quarters of a year after this separation, a new frolic took these rogues, which, together with their former villany, brought mischief enough upon them, and had very near been the ruin of the whole colony. The three associates began, it seems, to be weary of the laborious life they led, seeing no hope of bettering it ; and a whim

took them, that they would make a voyage to the continent from whence the savages came, and try if they could not seize upon some prisoners among the natives there, and bring them home, so as to make them do the laborious part of the work for them.

The project was not so preposterous, if they had gone no further ; but they did nothing, and proposed nothing, that had not either mischief in the design, or mischief in the event ; so the three fellows came down to the Spaniards one morning, and in very humble terms desired to be admitted to speak with them. The Spaniards very readily heard what they had to say, which was this : that they were tired of living in the manner they did ; that they were not handy enough to provide the necessaries they wanted ; and that having no help, they found they should be starved ; but if the Spaniards would give them leave to take one of the canoes which they came over in, and give them arms and ammunition proportioned for their defence, they would go over to the main to seek their fortune, and so deliver them from the trouble of supplying them with any other provisions.

The Spaniards were glad enough to be rid of them ; but yet very honestly represented to them the certain destruction they were running into ; told them they had suffered such hardships upon that very spot, that they could, without any spirit of prophecy, tell them that they would be starved or murdered, and bade them consider well of it. They replied audaciously that they should be starved if they stayed here, for they could not work and would not work, and they could but be starved abroad ; and if they were murdered, there was an end of them, they had no wives or children to cry after them ; and, in short, insisted importunately upon their demand, declaring that they would go, whether they would give them arms or no. The Spaniards told them, with great kindness, that if they were resolved to go, they should not go like naked men, in no condition to defend themselves ; and though they could ill spare their fire-arms, having not enough for themselves, yet they would let them have two muskets, a pistol, and a cutlass, and each man a hatchet, which they thought sufficient for them.

In a word, they accepted the offer ; and having baked them bread enough to serve for a month, and given them as much goat's flesh as they could eat while it was sweet, and a great basket full of dried grapes, a pot full of fresh water, and a young kid alive to kill, they boldly set out in a canoe for a voyage over the sea, where it was at least forty miles broad.

The boat was indeed a large one, and would have very well carried

fifteen or twenty men, and therefore was rather too big for them to manage ; but as they had a fair breeze and the flood-tide with them, they did well enough : they made a mast of a long pole, and a sail of four large goat-skins dried, which they had sewed or laced together, and away they went merrily enough : the Spaniards called after them Bon Veajo, and no man ever thought of seeing them again. The Spaniards and the two honest Englishmen would often congratulate each other on the quiet and comfortable life they led now those turbulent fellows were gone ; as for their ever coming again, that was the remotest thing from their thoughts ; when, behold, after twenty-two days' absence, one of the Englishmen being abroad upon his planting-work, sees three strange men coming towards him at a distance, two of them with guns upon their shoulders.

Away ran the Englishman as if he was bewitched, coming frightened and amazed to the governor Spaniard, and tells him they were all undone, for there were strangers landed upon the island ; they could not tell who. The Spaniard, pausing awhile, says to him, How do you mean, you cannot tell who ? They are the savages to be sure. No, no, says the Englishman ; they are men in clothes with arms. Nay, then, says the Spaniard, why are you concerned ? If they are not savages, they must be friends ; for there is no Christian nation upon earth but will do us good rather than harm.

While they were debating thus, came the three Englishmen, and standing without the wood which was new planted, hallooed to them ; they presently knew their voices, and so all their wonder ceased. But now the admiration was turned upon another question, viz. What could be the matter, and what had brought them back again.

It was not long before the men were brought in ; and inquiring where they had been, and what they had been doing, they gave them a full account of their voyage—in a few words, they reached the land in two days, or something less ; but finding the people alarmed at their coming, and preparing with bows and arrows to fight them, they durst not go on shore, but sailed on to the northward six or seven hours, till they came to a great opening, by which they perceived that the land they saw from our island was not the main, but an island. Entering that opening of the sea, they saw another island on the right hand to the north, and several more to the west ; being resolved to land somewhere, they put over to one of the islands which lay west, and went boldly on shore ; and found the people very courteous and friendly to them, giving them roots, and some dried fish, and appearing very sociable ; the women, as well as the men, being very forward to supply

them with anything they could get for them to eat, bringing it to them a great way upon their heads.



They continued here four days, and inquired, as well as they could of them by signs, what nations were this way, and that way ; and were told of several fierce and terrible races that lived almost every way ; who, as they made signs to them, used to eat men ; but as for themselves, they said, they never eat men or women, except only such as they took in war, and then they owned that they made a great feast and eat their prisoners.

The Englishmen inquired when they had a feast of that kind ; and they told them about two moons ago, pointing to the moon, and then to two fingers ; and that their great king had two hundred prisoners now, which he had taken in his war ; and they were feeding them to make them fat for the next feast. The Englishmen seemed mighty desirous to see those prisoners ; but the other mistaking them, thought they were desirous to have some of them to carry away for their own eating. So they beckoned to them, pointing to the setting sun, and then to the rising ; which was to signify, that the next morning, at sun-rising, they would bring some for them ; and accordingly, the next morning, they brought down five women and eleven men, and gave them to the Englishmen to carry with them on their voyage, just as we would bring so many cows and oxen down to a sea-port town to victual a ship.

Brutish and barbarous as these fellows were at home, their stomachs

turned at this sight, and they did not know what to do : to refuse the prisoners would have been the highest affront to the savage gentry that offered them ; and what to do with them they knew not. However, after consultation, they resolved to accept of them ; and in return, they gave the savages that brought them one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and six or seven of their bullets, which, though they did not understand, they seemed extremely pleased with : and then, tying the poor creatures' hands behind them, they (the people) dragged the poor prisoners into the boat.

The Englishmen were obliged to come away as soon as they received them, otherwise they would certainly have been expected to kill two or three of them the next morning, inviting the donors at the same time to dinner. Having taken their leave with all the ceremonies that could pass between people, neither of whom understood a word said, they put off, and came back towards the first island, where they set eight of their prisoners at liberty. In their voyage they endeavoured to communicate with their prisoners, but they could not be made to understand anything ; when unbound the poor creatures screamed out, especially the women, as if they had just felt the knife at their throats ; for they immediately concluded they were unbound on purpose to be killed. If they gave them anything to eat, it was the same thing, it was given for fear they should sink in flesh ; if they looked at one of them more particularly, it was to see whether he or she was fattest and fittest to kill ; nay, when they began to use them kindly, and treat them well, still they expected every day to make a dinner or a supper for their new masters.

When the three wanderers had given this unaccountable history of their voyage, the Spaniard asked them where their new family was ? And being told that they had brought them on shore, and put them into one of their huts, and were come up to beg some victuals for them, the whole colony resolved to go down to the place and see them, taking Friday's father with them.

When they came into the hut, there they sat all bound ; for when they had brought them on shore, they bound their hands that they might not make their escape ; there, I say, they sat, all of them stark-naked ; first, there were three men, lusty, comely fellows, well-shaped, straight and fair limbs, about thirty to thirty-five years of age, and five women, whereof two might be from thirty to forty, two more not above four or five and twenty, and the fifth, a tall, comely maiden, about sixteen or seventeen. The women were well-favoured agreeable persons, both in shape and features, only tawny ; and two of them, had they been white, would have passed for very handsome women, having very

agreeable countenances, and a very modest behaviour, especially when they came afterwards to be clothed and dressed, though the dress was a very indifferent one.

The sight, you may be sure, was something uncouth to our Spaniards, who were men of the most calm, sedate tempers, and perfect good humour that ever I met with, and, in particular, of great modesty, as will presently appear. I say the sight was very uncouth, to see three naked men, and five naked women, all together bound, and expecting every moment to be dragged out and have their brains knocked out, and then to be eaten up like a calf that is killed for a dainty.

The first thing they did was to cause the old Indian, Friday's father, to go in and see if he knew any of them ; and then, if he understood their speech. As soon as the old man came in, he looked seriously at them, but knew none of them ; neither could any of them understand a word he said, or a sign he could make, except one of the women. This was enough, however ; he soon satisfied them that they had fallen into Christian hands, who abhorred eating men or women, and assured them they would not be killed ; at this they discovered such joy, and by such awkward and several ways, as is hard to describe, for it seems they were of several nations. The woman who interpreted was now bid to ask them if they were willing to be servants, and to work for the men who had brought them away. At which they all fell a dancing ; and presently one fell to taking up this, and another that, anything that lay next, to carry on their shoulders, as an intimation that they were willing to work.

The governor, who feared that having the women among them would presently be attended with some inconveniency, and that it might occasion strife, and perhaps blood, asked the three men what they intended to do with these women, and whether they intended them for servants or wives. One of the Englishmen answered very boldly and readily, that they would use them as both. To which the governor said, I am not going to restrain you from it ; you are your own masters as to that, but to avoid disorders and quarrels among you, I desire that you will all engage that if any of you take any of these women as wife, that he shall take but one, and that, having taken one, none else should touch her ; for it is but reasonable that each should maintain the woman he takes. All this appeared so just that every one agreed to it without any difficulty.

Then the Englishmen asked the Spaniards if they designed to take any of them ? But every one of them answered, " No ; " some of them

said they had wives in Spain, and the others did not like women that were not Christians, and all together declared that they would not touch one of them ; on the other hand, the five Englishmen took them every one a wife, and so they set up a new form of living, for the Spaniards and Friday's father lived as before in my old habitation, which they had enlarged exceedingly within. The three servants which they had taken in the late battle of the savages, lived with them ; and these carried on the main part of the colony, supplying all the rest with food, and assisting them in anything as they could, as necessity required.

But the wonder of this story was, how five such refractory, ill-matched fellows should agree about these women, and that two of them should not pitch upon the same, especially seeing two or three of them were, without comparison, more agreeable than the others ; but they took a good way enough to prevent quarrelling among themselves, for they set the five women by themselves in one of their huts, while they went all into the other and drew lots among themselves who should choose first.

When the poor women saw themselves set in a row thus, and fetched out one by one, the terrors of their condition returned upon them again, and they firmly believed that they were now going to be devoured ; accordingly, when the English sailor came in and fetched out one of them, the rest set up a most lamentable cry, and hung about her, and took their leave of her with such agonies and such affection, as would have grieved the hardest heart in the world ; nor was it possible for the Englishman to satisfy them that they were not to be immediately murdered, till they fetched the old man, Friday's father, who instantly let them know, that the five men who had fetched them out one by one, had chosen them for their wives.

When they had done, and the fright the women were in was a little over, the men went to work, and the Spaniards came and helped them ; and, in a few hours, they had built them every one a new hut or tent for their lodging apart, for those they had already were crowded with their tools, household stuff, and provisions. The three wicked ones had pitched farthest off, and the two honest ones nearer, but both on the north shore of the island, so that they continued separated as before ; and thus my island was peopled in three places, and, as I might say, three towns were planted.

And here it is very well worth observing that, as it often happens in the world, the two honest fellows had the two worst wives, and the three reprobates, that were scarce worth hanging, had three clever,

diligent, careful, and ingenious wives ; not that the two first were bad, wives as to their temper or humour, for all the five were most willing, quiet, passive creatures, rather like slaves than wives, but they were not alike capable, ingenious, or industrious, or alike cleanly and neat. Another observation I must make in honour of a diligent application on one hand, and to the disgrace of a slothful, negligent, idle temper on the other ; when I came to the place, and viewed the several improvements, the two men had far outdone the three ; they had indeed both of them as much ground laid out for corn as they wanted, for nature dictated that it was to no purpose to sow more corn than they wanted ; but the difference of the cultivation, of the planting, of the fences, and, indeed, of everything else, was easy to be seen at a glance.

The two men had innumerable young trees planted about their huts, and though they had twice had their plantation demolished, once by their own countrymen, and once by the enemy, yet they had restored it again, and everything was thriving and flourishing about them ; they had grapes planted in order, and managed like a vineyard. They had also found out a retreat in the thickest part of the woods, where though there was no natural cave, as I had found, yet they had made one with the incessant labour of their hands, where they secured their wives and children from the enemy, having, by sticking innumerable stakes and poles of quick growing wood, made the wood impassable, except in one place, where they climbed up to get over the outside part, and then went in by ways of their own making.

As to the other three, though they were more civilized and much less quarrelsome, having not the same opportunity, yet one of the certain companions of a profligate mind never left them, and that was their idleness. It is true they planted corn and made fences ; but Solomon's words were never better verified than in them—"I went by the vineyard of the slothful, and it was overgrown with thorns ;" for when the Spaniards came to view their crop, they could not see it in some places for weeds ; the hedge had several gaps in it, where the wild goats had got in and eaten up the corn ; perhaps here and there a dead bush was crammed in to stop them out for the present, but it was only shutting the stable door after the steed was stolen ; whilst the two verified Solomon's words in another place, "That the diligent hand makes rich ;" for everything grew and thrived, and they had plenty within and without ; they had more tame cattle than the other, more utensils and necessities within doors, and yet more pleasure and diversion too.

It is true, the wives of the three were very handy and cleanly

within doors ; and having learned the English ways of dressing and cooking from one of the Englishmen, who, as I said, was cook's mate on board the ship, they dressed their husbands' victuals very nicely indeed, whereas the other could not be brought to understand it ; but then the husband, who, as I say, had been cook's mate, did it himself ; but the men themselves loitered about, fetched turtle's eggs, and caught fish and birds : in a word, anything but labour, and they fared accordingly : the diligent lived well and comfortable, and the slothful lived hard and beggarly ; and so I believe, generally speaking, it is all over the world.

Early one morning there came on shore five or six canoes of Indians, or savages, call them which you please ; and there is no room to doubt they came upon the old errand of feeding upon their prisoners, but that part was now so familiar to the Spaniards, and to our men too, that they did not concern themselves much about it, their only business was to lie concealed, and if they were not seen by any of the savages, they would go off again quietly when their business was done, having as yet not the least notion of there being any inhabitants in the island. But an accident spoiled all their measures, and made it known among the savages that there were inhabitants there, which in the end led to the desolation of the whole colony. After the canoes with the savages had gone off, the Spaniards peeped abroad again, and some of them had the curiosity to go to the place where they had been to see what they had been doing. Here, to their great surprise, they found three savages left behind, lying fast asleep upon the ground ; it was supposed that they had either been so gorged with their inhuman feast, that, like beasts, they fell asleep, and would not stir when the others went, or they had wandered into the woods, and did not come back in time.

The Spaniards were greatly surprised at this sight, and perfectly at a loss what to do : the Spaniard governor, as it happened, was with them, and his advice was asked ; but he professed he knew not what to do : as for slaves, they had enough already ; and as to killing them, they were none of them inclined to that. The Spaniard governor told me they could not think of shedding innocent blood ; for as to them the poor creatures had done them no wrong, invaded none of their property, and they thought they had no just quarrel against them to justify them in taking away their lives.

After some consultation, therefore, they resolved that they would lie still a while longer, till, if possible, these three men might be gone ; but then the governor Spaniard recollected that the three savages had no boat, and that if they were left to rove about the island, they would

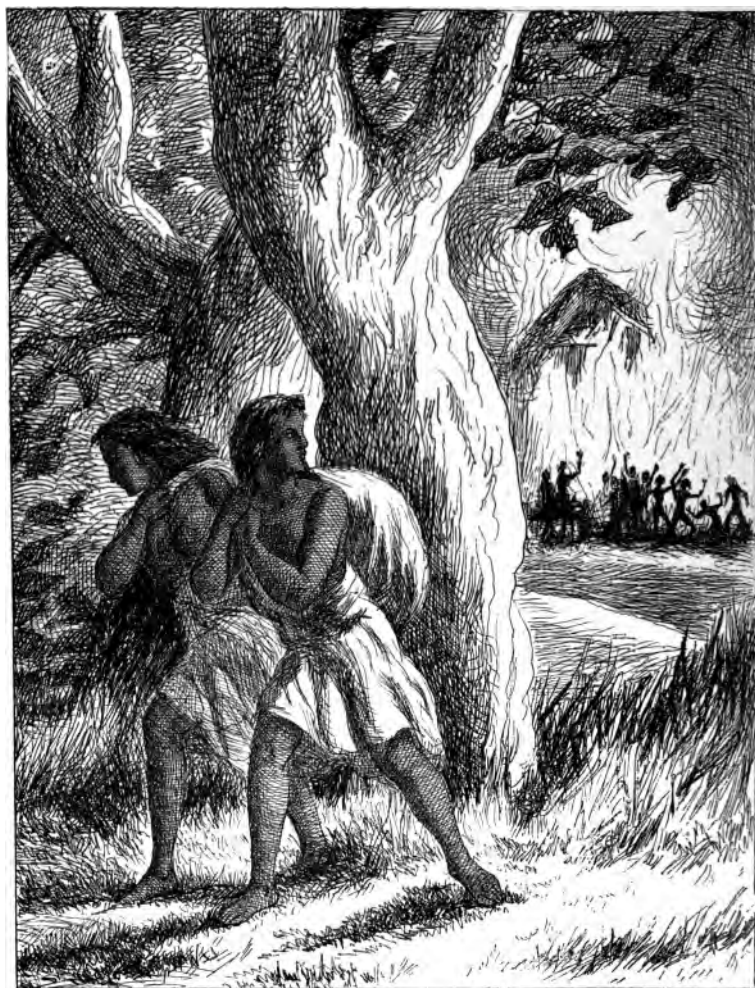
certainly discover that there were inhabitants in it, and so they should be undone again in that way.

Upon this they went back again, and found the fellows fast asleep still ; so they resolved to waken them, and take them prisoners, and they did so : the poor fellows were strangely frightened when they were seized upon and bound, they were afraid, like the women, that they should be murdered and eaten.

It was very fortunate that they did not carry them home to their castle, I mean to my palace under the hill ; but to the bower, where was the chief country work, such as the keeping the goats, planting the corn, &c., and afterwards they carried them to the habitation of the two Englishmen.

Here they were set to work, though it was not much they had for them to do ; and whether it was by negligence in guarding them, or that they thought the fellows could not mend themselves, I know not, but one of them run away ; and, taking to the woods, they never saw him more. They had good reason to believe, however, that he got home in some other boats or canoes of savages, who came on shore three or four weeks afterwards, on one of their revels, and went off again in two days' time. This incident terrified them all exceedingly ; for they concluded, and that not without good cause, that if this fellow got home among his comrades, he would certainly give report that there were people in the island, and how weak and few they were ; for this savage, as I observed before, had never been told, and it was very happy he had not, how many they were in all or where they lived, nor had he ever seen or heard the report of their guns, he knew nothing of the cave in the valley, or of the new retreat which the two Englishmen had made.

About two months after this, six canoes of savages, with about seven or eight, or ten men in a canoe, came rowing along the north side of the island, where they never used to come before, landing about an hour after sun-rise, at a convenient place, a mile or so from the habitation of the two Englishmen, where the man had been kept. As the Spaniard governor said, had they been all there, the damage would not have been so much, for not a man of them would have escaped ; but the case differed now very much, for two men to fifty was great odds. The two men had the happiness to discover them about a league off, so that it was above an hour before they landed ; and as they landed a mile from the huts, it was some time before they could come at them. Now having great reason to believe that they were betrayed, the first thing they did was to bind the two slaves which were left, and cause two of the three men, brought with the women, who, it seems, proved



BURNING HUTS



very faithful to them, to lead them with their two wives, and whatever they could carry away with them, to their retirement in the woods, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot till they heard farther.

In the next place, seeing the savages all come on shore, and that they bent their course directly that way, they opened the fences where their milch-goats were kept, and drove them all out to straggle into the woods, whither they pleased, that the savages might think they were all bred wild. When the two poor frightened men had secured their wives and goods, they sent the other slave they had of the three, who came with the women, and who was at their place by accident, away to the Spaniards with all speed, to give the alarm, and desire speedy help ; and in the meantime they took their arms, and what ammunition they had, and retreated towards the place in the wood where their wives were sent, keeping at a distance ; yet so that they might see, if possible, which way the savages took.

They had not gone so far, but that from a rising ground, they could see the little army of their enemies come on directly to their habitation, and in a moment more could see all their huts and household-stuff flaming up together, to their great grief and mortification ; for they sustained a loss, to them irretrievable, at least for some time. They kept their station, however, till they found the savages, like wild beasts, spread themselves all over the place, rummaging every way, and every place they could think of, in search for prey ; and, in particular, for the people, of whom it now plainly appeared they had had intelligence. Seeing this, the two Englishmen, not thinking themselves secure where they were, thought it proper to make another retreat about half a mile farther, believing, as it afterwards happened, that the farther they strolled, the fewer of the savages would be found together.

The next halt was at the entrance of a very thick-grown part of the woods, where stood an old trunk of a tree, which was hollow, and vastly large ; in this tree they both took their stand, resolving to see what might offer.

They had not stood there long, when two of the savages appeared running directly that way, as if they had already had notice where they stood, and were coming up to attack them. A little farther off they spied three more coming after them, and five more beyond them, all coming the same way ; besides this, they saw seven or eight more at a distance running another way ; in a word, they ran in every direction, like sportsmen beating for game.

The poor men were now in great perplexity, whether they should stand, and keep their posture, or fly ; but after a very short debate with

themselves, they considered, that if the savages ranged the country thus, before help came, they might, perhaps, find out their retreat in the woods, and then all would be lost; so they resolved to wait for them there; and if there were too many to deal with, then they would get to the top of the tree, from whence they doubted not their ability to defend themselves, fire excepted, as long as their ammunition lasted, even though all the savages who landed, which was near fifty, were to attack them.

Having resolved upon this, they next considered whether they should fire at the first two, or wait for the three, and so take the middle party; by which the two and the five that followed would be separated; and they resolved to let the two first pass by, unless they should spy them in the tree, and come to attack them. The two first savages confirmed them in this resolution, by turning away towards another part of the wood; but the three, and the five after them, came forward directly to the tree, as if they had known the Englishmen were there. Seeing them come so straight towards them, they resolved to take them in a line as they came, and fire one at a time, perhaps the first shot might hit them all three; to which purpose, the man who was to fire, put three or four small bullets into his piece, and having a fair loophole, as



it were, from a broken hole in the tree, he took a sure aim, without being seen, waiting till they were within about thirty yards of the tree, so that he could not miss. As the savages came on, they plainly saw that one of the three was the runaway savage that had escaped from

them ; they both knew him distinctly, and resolved that he should not escape ; so the other stood ready with his piece, to fire a second, in case he did not drop at the first shot. But the first was too good a marksman to miss. As the savages kept near one another, in a line, he fired, and hit two of them directly : the foremost was killed outright, being shot in the head ; the second, which was the runaway Indian, was shot through the body, and fell, but was not quite dead ; and the third had a little scratch in the shoulder, perhaps by the same ball that went through the body of the second ; and being dreadfully frightened, though not much hurt, he sat down upon the ground, screaming and yelling in a hideous manner.

The five that were behind, more frightened by the noise than sensible of the danger, stood still at first ; for the woods made the sound a thousand times bigger than it really was ; the echoes rattling from one side to another, and the fowls rising from all parts, screaming and making every sort of noise, according to their kind.

All being silent again, however, and not knowing what the matter was, they came on unconcerned till they came to the place where their companions lay, in a condition miserable enough ; and here the poor ignorant creatures, not sensible that they were within reach of the same mischief, stood huddled over the wounded man, talking, and, as may be supposed, inquiring of him how he came to be hurt : he told them that a flash of fire first, and immediately after that, thunder from their gods, had killed those two, and wounded him. Our two men, though, as they confessed to me, it grieved them to kill so many poor creatures, who at the same time had no notion of their danger ; yet, having them all thus in their power, and the first having loaded his piece again, resolved to let fly both together among them ; and, singling out by agreement which to aim at, they shot together, and killed, or very much wounded, four of them ; the fifth, frightened even to death, though not hurt, fell with the rest ; so that our men, seeing them all fall together, thought they had killed them all.

This belief made our two men come boldly out from the tree before they had charged their guns again, which was a wrong step ; and they were under some surprise, when they came to the place, and found no less than four of the men still alive, and of these, two very little hurt, and one not at all : this obliged them to fall upon them with the stocks of their muskets, and first they made sure of the runaway savage, that had been the cause of all the mischief ; and of another that was hurt in the knee, they put them out of their pain ; then the man that was not hurt at all came and kneeled before them, with his

two hands held up, and made a piteous appeal to them by gestures and signs, for his life; but could not say one word to them that they understood.

However, they signed to him to sit down at the foot of a tree thereby; and one of the Englishmen, with a piece of rope-twine, which he had by great chance in his pocket, tied his two feet fast together, and his two hands behind him, and there they left him; and with what speed they could, made after the other two which were gone before, fearing that they, or some other of them, should find the way to their covered place in the woods, where their wives and goods they had left lay; they came once in sight of the two men, but it was at a great distance; however, they had the satisfaction to see them cross over a valley, towards the sea, in a direction quite contrary to that which led to their retreat, satisfied with this, they went back to the tree where they had left their prisoner; but he was gone, and the two pieces of rope-yarn, with which they had bound him, lay just at the foot of the tree.

They were now as greatly concerned as before, not knowing what course to take, or how near the enemy might be, or in what numbers; so they resolved to go towards the place where their wives were, to see if all was well there, and relieve their anxiety; for though the savages were their own country folk, yet they were terribly afraid of them, the more, perhaps, for the knowledge they had of them.

When they reached it, they found the savages had been in the wood, and very near the place, but had not found it; for it was indeed rendered all but inaccessible, the trees standing so thick before it, that it could only be found by persons seeking it, directed by those that knew it: they found everything very safe, only the women in a terrible fright. Here they had the comfort of seeing seven of the Spaniards come to their assistance; the other ten, with their servants, and old Friday, I mean Friday's father, were gone in a body to defend their bower, and the corn and cattle kept there, in case the savages should have roved over to that side of the country; but they did not spread so far. With the seven Spaniards, came one of the three savages, who, as I said were their prisoners formerly, and with them also came the savage the Englishmen had left bound hand and foot at the tree; for it seems they came that way, saw the slaughter of the seven men, and unbound the eighth, and brought him along with them, where, however, they were obliged to bind him again, as they had the two others, who were left when the third ran away.

The prisoners began now to be a burden to them; and they were so

afraid of their escaping, that they were resolving to kill them all, believing they were under an absolute necessity to do so, for their own preservation ; but the Spaniard governor would not consent to it ; he ordered, for the present, that they should be sent to my old cave in the valley, and kept there, with two Spaniards to guard them. They were bound there hand and foot for that night.

The two Englishmen were so encouraged by the presence of the Spaniards, that they were not inclined to stay any longer there ; but taking five of the Spaniards, with four muskets and a pistol among them, and two stout quarter-staves, away they went in quest of the savages ; first, they came to the tree where the men lay that had been killed ; but it was easy to see, that some more of the savages had been there ; for they had attempted to carry their dead men away, and had dragged two of them a good way, but had given it over ; from thence they advanced to the first rising ground, whence they had seen their camp destroyed, and where they had the mortification still to see the smoke rising ; but neither could they here see any of the savages : they then resolved, though with all possible caution, to go forward towards their ruined plantation ; but before reaching it, coming in sight of the sea-shore, they plainly saw the savages embarking in their canoes. They were sorry at first to find there was no way to come at them, to give them a parting blow ; but upon the whole, they were very well satisfied to be rid of them.

The poor Englishmen being thus a second time ruined, and all their property destroyed, the others agreed to help them to rebuild, and to assist them with needful supplies. Their three countrymen, not noted for any inclination to do good, nevertheless, when they heard of their misfortune (for they, living remote eastward, knew nothing of the matter till all was over, offered their help and assistance, and did very friendly work for several days, to restore their habitation, and prepare necessaries for them ; and thus, in a little time, they were set upon their legs again.

Two days after this, they had the farther satisfaction of seeing three of the savages' canoes come driving on shore, and at some distance from them, two drowned men ; by which they had reason to believe, that they had met with a storm at sea, which had upset some of them ; for it had blown very hard the very night after they went off.

It was five or six months after this, before they heard any more of the savages, in this time our men were in hopes they had either forgot their former disasters or given up all hopes of better success, when, on a sudden, the island was invaded by a formidable fleet, of no less than

eight and twenty canoes full of savages, armed with bows and arrows, great clubs, wooden swords, and such like engines of war ; they were in such numbers that it threw all our people into the utmost consternation.

As they landed in the evening, and at the easternmost side of the island, our men had that night to consult and consider what to do ; in the first place, knowing that their being entirely concealed was their only safety formerly, so it would be much more so now, when their enemies were so numerous. They resolved, therefore, first of all to pull down the huts which were built for the two Englishmen, and drive away their goats to the old cave ; supposing that the savages would go directly thither, as soon as it was day, to play the old game over again, though they did not now land within two leagues of it.

In the next place, they drove away all the flock of goats they had at the old bower, as I called it, which belonged to the Spaniards, in short, they left as little appearance of inhabitants anywhere as was possible ; and the next morning early they posted themselves, with all their force, at the plantation of the two men, to wait for their coming. As they guessed, so it happened ; these new invaders, leaving their canoes at the east end of the island, came ranging along the shore, directly towards the place, to the number of two hundred and fifty, as near as our men could judge. Our force was small indeed ; but what was worse, they had not arms for all their number. The whole account, it seems, stood thus. First as to men.

Seventeen Spaniards, five Englishmen, one Old Friday, or Friday's father ; three the three slaves, taken with the women, who proved very faithful ; three other slaves who lived with the Spaniards.

To arm these they had eleven muskets, five pistols, three fowling-pieces, five muskets, or fowling-pieces, which were taken by me from the mutinous seamen whom I reduced ; two swords, three old halberts.

To the slaves they did not give either musket or fusil, but they had every one a halbert, or a long staff, like a quarter-staff, with a great spike of iron fastened into each end of it, and by his side a hatchet : also every one of our men had hatchets. Two of the women could not be prevailed upon, but they would come into the fight ; and they had bows and arrows, which the Spaniards had taken from the savages, when the first action happened, which I have spoken of, where the Indians fought with one another ; the women had hatchets too.

The Spaniard governor, who I have described so often, commanded the whole ; and Wm. Atkins, who, though a dreadful fellow for wickedness, was a bold daring fellow, commanded under him. The savages

came forward like lions, and our men, which was the worst of their fate, had no advantage in their situation ; only that Will Atkins, who now proved a most useful fellow, with six men, was planted just behind a small thicket of bushes, as an advanced guard, with orders to let the first band of them pass by, and then fire into the middle of them ; retreating as nimbly as he could, as soon as he had fired, round a part of the wood and so coming in behind the Spaniards, who stood with a thicket of trees also before them.

When the savages came on, they ran straggling about in every direction without order ; Atkins let about fifty of them pass ; then, seeing the rest coming in a very thick throng, he orders three of his men to fire, having loaded their muskets with six or seven bullets a-piece, each about as big as large pistol bullets. How many they killed or wounded they never knew ; but the consternation and surprise among the savages was inexpressible ; they were frightened to the last degree, to hear such a dreadful noise, and see their men killed, and others wounded, but seeing nobody that did it ; while in the middle of their fright, Atkins, and his other three, let fly again among the thickest of them ; and in less than a minute, the other three being again loaded, gave them a third volley. Had Atkins and his men retired immediately, as soon as they had fired, as they were ordered to do ; or had the rest of the body been at hand to have poured in their shot continually, the savages had now been effectually routed ; for their terror principally arose from the superstitious dread that they were killed by the gods with thunder and lightning, not seeing by whom they were hurt ; but Atkins, staying to load again, revealed the cheat ; some of the savages, who were at a distance, spying them, came upon them behind ; and though Atkins and his men fired at them also, two or three times, and killed above twenty, retiring as fast as they could, yet they wounded Atkins himself, and killed one of his fellow Englishmen with their arrows, as they did afterwards one Spaniard, and one of the Indian slaves who came with the women. This slave was a most gallant fellow, and fought most desperately, killing five of them with his own hand, he having no weapon but one of the armed staves, and a hatchet.

Our men being thus hard laid at, Atkins wounded, and two other men killed, they retreated to a rising ground in the wood ; and the Spaniards, after firing three volleys upon them, retreated also ; for their number was so great, that though above fifty of them were killed, and more wounded, yet they came on in the teeth of our men, fearless of danger, and shot their arrows like a cloud ; and it was observed, that their

wounded men, when not quite disabled, were made outrageous by their wounds, and fought like madmen.

When our men retreated, they left the Spaniard and the Englishman, that were killed, behind them ; and the savages, when they came up to them, vented their rage on their bodies in a wretched manner, breaking their arms, legs, and heads, with their clubs and wooden swords, like true savages. But finding our men were gone, they did not seem inclined to pursue them ; but drew themselves up in a kind of a ring, which is, it seems, their custom, and shouted twice, in token of their victory ; after which, they had the mortification of seeing several of their wounded men fall, dying with the mere loss of blood.

The Spaniard governor having drawn his little body up together, upon a rising ground, Atkins, though he was wounded, would have had him march, and charge them again all together at once ; but the prudent Spaniard replied, Seignior Atkins, you see how their wounded men fight ; let them alone till morning ; all these wounded men will be stiff and sore with their wounds, and faint with the loss of blood ; and so we shall have the fewer to engage. The advice was good ; but Will Atkins replied merrily, That is true, Seignior, and so shall I be too ; and that is the reason I would go on, while I am warm. Well, Seignior Atkins, says the Spaniard, you have behaved gallantly, and done your part ; we will fight for you, if you cannot come on ; but I think it best to stay till morning ; so they waited.

But as it was a clear moonlight night, and they found the savages in great disorder about their dead and wounded, and great apparent confusion and noise among them where they lay, it was resolved to fall upon them in the night, especially if they could give them but one volley before they were discovered, which they had a fair opportunity of doing, for one of the two Englishmen, in whose quarter the fight began, led them round between the woods and the seaside, westward, and then turning short south, they came so near where the thickest of them lay, that before they were seen or heard, eight muskets were fired in among them, and did dreadful execution ; in half a minute more eight others followed, pouring in their small shot in such a quantity, that abundance were killed and wounded ; and all this while they were not able to see who hurt them, or which way to fly.

The Spaniards charged again, with the utmost expedition, and then divided themselves into three bodies, resolved to fall in among them all together ; they in each body eight persons, that is to say, twenty-four, whereof were twenty-two men and two women, who, by the way, fought desperately.



MEN RETURNING TO BOATS



They divided the fire-arms equally in each party, and so of the halberts and staves. They would have had the women keep back ; but they said they were resolved to die with their husbands. Having thus formed their little army, they marched out from among the trees, and came up to the very teeth of the enemy, shouting and hallooing as loud as they could ; the savages stood all together, but in the utmost confusion, hearing the noise of our men shouting from three quarters together ; they would have fought if they had seen us ; and, as soon as we came near enough to be seen, some arrows were shot, and poor old Friday was wounded, though not dangerously. But our men gave them no time ; running up to them they fired among them three ways, and then fell in with the butt-ends of their muskets, their swords, armed staves, and hatchets, and laid about them so well, that, in a word, the savages set up a dismal screaming and howling, and fled in all directions to save their lives.

Our men were tired with the execution ; they killed or mortally wounded, in the two fights, about 180 of them ; the rest being frightened out of their wits, scoured through the woods, and over the hills, with all the speed fear and nimble feet could give them ; and, as we did not trouble ourselves much to pursue them, they got all together to the seaside, where they had landed, and where their canoes still lay. But their disaster was not at an end yet ; for it blew a terrible storm of wind that evening from the seaward, so that it was impossible for them to go off ; nay, the storm continuing all night, when the tide came up, their canoes were most of them driven by the surge of the sea so high upon the shore that it required infinite toil to get them off again ; and some of them were even dashed to pieces against the beach, or against one another.

Our men, though cheered by victory, yet got little rest that night ; but having refreshed themselves as well as they could, they resolved to march to that part of the island where the savages had fled. This necessarily led them over the place where the fight took place, where they found several of the poor creatures not quite dead, and yet past recovery ; a sight disagreeable enough to generous minds. The savages, who were their servants, despatched those poor creatures with their hatchets. At length they came in view of the miserable remains of the army of savages. There appeared to be about 100 still ; their posture was generally sitting upon the ground, with their knees up towards their mouth, and the head put between the two hands, leaning down upon the knees. When our men came within two musket shot of them, the Spaniard governor ordered two muskets to

be fired without ball, to alarm them ; this he did, that by their countenance he might know what to expect, namely, whether they were still in heart to fight, or were so heartily beaten, as to be dispirited and discouraged. The stratagem took ; for as soon as the savages heard the first gun, and saw the flash of the second, they started up to their feet in the greatest consternation imaginable ; and as our men advanced swiftly towards them, they all ran away screaming and yawling, with a kind of a howling noise which our men did not understand, never having heard it before ; and thus they ran up the hills into the country. At first, our men had much rather that the weather had been calm, and that they all had got away to sea ; but they did not then consider, that this would probably have been the occasion of their coming again in such multitudes as to be irresistible, or, at least, in such numbers, and so often, as to desolate the island, and starve them out. Will Atkins therefore, who, notwithstanding his wound, kept always with them, proved the best counsellor in this case ; his advice was, to take the advantage that offered, and clap in between them and their boats, and so deprive them of the capacity of ever returning any more to plague the island.

They consulted long about this, some were against it, for fear of making the wretches fly into the woods, and become desperate ; when they would have to hunt them down like wild beasts, having their plantations continually rifled, and their tame goats destroyed.

Will Atkins told them, they had better have to do with 100 men, than with 100 nations ; that as they must destroy their boats, so they must destroy the men, or be destroyed themselves. In a word, he showed them the necessity of it so plainly, that they all came into his plan ; they went to work immediately with the boats, and, getting some dry wood together from a dead tree, they tried to set some of them on fire ; but they were so wet, that they would not burn. However, the fire so burned the upper part, that it soon made them unfit for swimming in the sea as boats. When the Indians saw what they were about, some of them came running out of the woods, and coming as near as they could to our men, kneeled down and cried, *Oa, Oa, Waramakoa*, and some other words of their language, which none of the others understood ; but as they made pitiful gestures, and strange noises, it was easy to see they begged to have their boats spared, and that they would be gone, and never come there again.

But our men were now satisfied that they had no way to preserve themselves, or to save their colony, but effectually to prevent any of

these people from ever going home again ; depending upon this, that if ever one of them got back to tell the story, the colony was undone ; so that letting them know that they should not have any mercy, they fell to work with their canoes, and destroyed every one that the storm had not destroyed before ; at this sight, the savages raised a hideous cry in the woods ; after which they ran about the island like distracted men ; so that, in a word, our men did not know what to do with them.

While they thus made those people desperate, the Spaniards did not, as they ought to have done, keep good guard upon their plantations ; for though they had driven away the cattle, and the Indians did not find out their main retreat, namely, my old castle at the hill, nor the cave in the valley ; yet they found out the bower, and pulled it all to pieces, breaking all the fences and planting about it ; trod all the corn under foot ; tore up the vines and grapes, then almost ripe ; and did an inestimable damage, though, to themselves, not one farthing worth of service. Though our men were able to fight them upon all occasions, yet they were in no condition to pursue them ; they were too nimble of foot for our men when they found them singly, and our men durst not go about singly, for fear of being surrounded by numbers ; fortunately, they had no weapons ; for though they had bows, they had no arrows left, nor any materials to make them.



The distress they were reduced to was indeed deplorable ; but our men were also very much harassed ; for though their retreats were preserved, yet their provision was destroyed, and their harvest spoiled ;

and what to do they knew not ; the only refuge they had was, the stock of cattle in the valley by the cave, and some little corn which grew there, and the plantation of the three Englishmen, now reduced to two, one of them being killed by an arrow, which struck him on the side of his head, just under the temples, so that he never spoke more.

The first thing concluded upon was to drive them up to the farther part of the island, so that if any more savages came on shore, they might not find one another ; then, that they would daily hunt and harass them, and kill as many of them as they could come at, till they had reduced their number ; and if they could at last tame them, they would give them corn, and teach them how to plant, and live upon their daily labour. In order to this, they followed them, and so terrified them with their guns, that if any of them fired a gun at an Indian, even if he did not hit him, he would fall down from fear. So dreadfully frightened they were, that they kept out of sight, farther and farther, till at last our men, following them, and every day killing or wounding some of them, they kept so much up in the woods and hollow places, that they were reduced to the utmost misery for want of food ; and many were afterwards found dead in the woods, starved to death.

When our men found this, it made their hearts relent, and pity especially moved the Spaniard governor, who was a gentlemanly generous-minded man. He proposed, if possible, to take one of them alive, and bring him to act as interpreter, to go among his fellows and see if they might be brought to some conditions, that might lead to saving their lives. One of them was at last surprised, weak, and half-starved. He was sullen at first, and would neither eat nor drink ; but finding himself kindly treated, and no violence offered him, he at last grew tractable. They brought old Friday to him, who talked often with him, and told him how kind the others would be to them all ; that they would not only save their lives, but would give them a part of the island to live in, provided they would agree to keep in their own bounds, and not come beyond it, to injure or prejudice others ; that they should have corn given them to plant and grow for their bread, bread also for their present subsistence ; and old Friday bade the fellow go and talk with his countrymen, and see what they said to it ; assuring them, that if they did not agree immediately they should be all destroyed.

The poor wretches, humbled, and reduced in number to about thirty-seven, closed with the proposal at the first offer, and begged to have some food given them ; upon which twelve Spaniards and two Englishmen, well armed, with three Indian slaves, and old Friday, marched to

the place where they were ; the three Indian slaves carried them a large quantity of bread, some rice boiled up to cakes, and dried in the sun, and three live goats ; and they were ordered to go to the side of a hill, where they sat down, eat the provisions very thankfully, and turned out most faithful fellows to their words ; for, except when they came to beg victuals, they never came out of their bounds.

They had been taught both to plant corn, make bread, breed tame goats, and milk them ; they wanted nothing but wives, and they soon would have been a nation : they were confined to a neck of land, surrounded by high rocks behind them, and a plain lying towards the sea before them, on the south-east corner of the island ; they had land enough, and it was very good and fruitful ; about a mile and a half broad, and three or four miles in length. Our men had taught them to make wooden spades, such as I had made for myself ; and gave them twelve hatchets, and three or four knives ; and there they lived, the most harmless, innocent creatures that ever were heard of. After this the colony enjoyed a perfect tranquillity from attacks of the savages ; not but that now and then some canoes of savages came on shore for their triumphal, unnatural feasts ; but as they were of several nations, and, perhaps, had never heard of those that came before, or the reason of it, they did not make any search or inquiry after their countrymen ; and if they had, it would have been very hard to have found them out.

Thus, I have given a full account of all that had happened to the time of my return, at least, that was worth notice. The Indians, or savages, were wonderfully civilized by them ; they frequently went among them, but forbid, on pain of death, any one of the Indians coming to them, because they would not have their settlement betrayed again.

One thing was very remarkable, namely, that they taught the savages to make wicker-work, or baskets ; but they soon outdid their masters ; for they made abundance of most ingenious things in wicker-work ; particularly all sorts of baskets, sieves, bird-cages, cupboards, &c. as also chairs to sit on, stools, beds, couches, and abundance of other things, being very ingenious at such work, when they were once put in the way of it.

My coming was a particular relief to these people, because we furnished them with knives, scissors, spades, shovels, pick-axes, and all things of that kind which they could want.

With the help of these tools they were so very handy, that they came, at last, to build up their huts, or houses, very handsomely ; raddling, or working it up like basket-work all the way round, which was

a very extraordinary piece of ingenuity, and looked very odd ; but was an exceeding good fence, as well against heat as against all sorts of vermin ; and our men were so taken with it, that they got the savages to come and do the like for them ; so that when I came to see the two Englishmen's colonies, they looked, at a distance, as if they lived like bees in a hive ; and as for Atkins, who was now become a very industrious, necessary, and sober fellow, he had made himself such a tent of basket-work, as I believe was never seen. It was 120 paces round in the outside, as I measured by my steps ; the walls were as close worked as a basket, in panels or squares, of thirty-two in number, and very strong, standing about seven foot high : in the middle was another not above twenty-two paces round, but built still stronger, being eight square in its form, and in the eight corners stood eight very strong posts, round the top of which he laid strong pieces, pinned together with wooden pins, from which he raised a pyramid for a roof of eight rafters, very handsome, I assure you, and very well joined together, though he had no nails, and only a few iron spikes, which he made himself, out of the old iron that I had left there ; and indeed, this fellow showed abundance of ingenuity in several things ; he made a forge, with a pair of wooden bellows to blow the fire : he made himself charcoal for his work, and he formed out of one of the iron crows a middling good anvil to hammer upon ; in this manner he made many things, but especially hooks, staples and spikes, bolts and hinges. But to return to the house ; after he had pitched the roof of his innermost tent, he worked it up between the rafters with basket-work, so firm, and thatched that over again so ingeniously with rice straw, and over that a large leaf of a tree, which covered the top, that his house was as dry as if it had been tiled or slated. He owned, indeed, that the savages made the basket-work for him.

The outer circuit was covered, as a lean-to, all round this inner apartment, and long rafters lay from the two and thirty angles to the top posts of the inner house, being about twenty foot distant ; so that there was a space like a walk within the outer wicker-wall, and without the inner, near twenty foot wide.

The inner place he partitioned off with the same wicker-work, but much fairer, and divided it into six apartments, so that he had six rooms on a floor, and out of every one of these there was a door ; first, into the entry, or coming into the main tent ; and another door into the space or walk that was round it ; so that walk was also divided into six equal parts, which served not only for retreat, but to store up any necessities which the family had occasion for. These six spaces

not taking up the whole circumference, what other apartments the outer circle had, were thus ordered : as soon as you were in at the door of the outer circle, you had a short passage straight before you to the door of the inner house ; but on either side was a wicker partition, and a door in it, by which you went, first, into a large room or store-house, twenty foot wide, and about thirty foot long, and through that into another not quite so long : so that in the outer circle were ten handsome rooms, six of which were only to be come at through the apartments of the inner tent, and served as closets or retiring rooms to the respective chambers of the inner circle : and four large-warehouses or barns, or what you please to call them, which went in through one another, two on either hand of the passage that led through the outer door to the inner tent.

Such a piece of basket-work, I believe, was never seen in the world before ; nor a house or tent so neatly contrived, much less so built : in this great bee-hive lived the three families ; that is to say, W. Atkins, and his companion ; the third was killed, but his wife remained with three children ; for she was, it seems, big with child when he died ; and the other two were not at all backward to give the widow her full share of everything, I mean, as to their corn, milk, grapes, &c. ; and when they killed a kid, or found a turtle on the shore ; so that they all lived well enough, though it was true, they were not so industrious as the other two, as has been observed already.

Having made myself thoroughly acquainted with the state of the colony. I entered into a serious discourse with the Spaniard, whom I called governor, about their stay in the island ; for as I was not come to carry any of them off, so it would not be just to take some and leave others.

On the other hand, I told him, I came to establish them there, not to remove them ; and then I let them all know, that I had brought with me relief of sundry kinds for them. That I had been at a great charge to supply them with all things necessary, as well for their convenience as their defence ; and that I had such and such particular persons with me, as well to increase and recruit their number, as by the particular necessary employments which they were bred to, being artificers, to assist them in those things, in which, at present, they were to seek.

They were all together when I talked thus to them ; and before I delivered to them the stores I had brought, I asked them one by one, if they had entirely forgot and buried their early animosities, and would shake hands with one another, and engage in a strict friendship.

and union of interests, so that there might be no more misunderstandings or jealousies.

Will Atkins, with abundance of frankness and good-humour, said, they had met with afflictions enough to make them all sober, and enemies enough to make them all friends. That, for his part, he would live and die with them ; and was so far from designing anything against the Spaniards, that, he owned, they had done nothing but what his own mad humour made necessary, and that he would have done, perhaps, much worse, in their case : and that he would ask their pardon, if I desired it, for the foolish and brutish things he had done to them ; he was willing and desirous of living on terms of entire friendship and union with them ; and would do anything that lay in his power to convince them of it : as for going to England, he cared not if he did not go thither this twenty years.

The Spaniards said, they had indeed, at first, disarmed and excluded Will Atkins, and his two countrymen, for their bad conduct. And they appealed to me, for the necessity they were under to do so ; but that Will Atkins had behaved himself so bravely in the great fight they had with the savages, and on several occasions since, and had showed himself so faithful to, and so concerned for the general interest, that they had forgotten all that was past, and thought he merited as much to be trusted with arms, and supplied with necessaries, as any of them ; and that they had testified their satisfaction in him, by committing the command to him, next to the governor himself ; and as they had an entire confidence in him, and all his countrymen, so they acknowledged, they had merited that confidence, by all the methods that honest men could merit to be valued and trusted : and they most heartily embraced the occasion of giving me this assurance, that they would never have any interest separate from one another.

Upon these frank and open declarations of friendship, we appointed the next day to dine all together ; and, indeed, we made a splendid feast. I caused the ship's cook and his mate to come on shore, and dress our dinner ; and the old cook's mate we had on shore assisted. We brought on shore six pieces of good beef, and four pieces of pork, out of the ship's provision, with our punch bowl, and materials to fill it ; and in particular, I gave them ten bottles of French claret, and ten bottles of English beer ; things that neither the Spaniards, or the Englishmen had tasted for many years ; and which, it may be supposed were exceeding acceptable.

The Spaniards added to our feast five whole kids, which the cooks roasted ; and three of them were sent covered up close, on board the

ship to the seamen, that they might feast on fresh meat from the shore, as we did with their salt meat from on board.

After this feast, at which we were very innocently merry, I brought out my cargo of goods, wherein, that there might be no dispute about dividing, I showed them that there was sufficient for them all ; desired, that they might all take an equal quantity of the goods that were for wearing ; that is to say, equal when made up.

Then I presented to them the people I had brought with me ; particularly the tailor, the smith, and the two carpenters, all of them most necessary people ; but above all, my general artificer, than whom they could not name anything that was more useful to them ; and the tailor, to show his concern for them, went to work immediately, and with my



leave, made them every one a shirt the first thing he did ; and what was still more, he taught the women not only how to sew and stitch, and use the needle, but made them assist to make the shirts for their husbands, and for all the rest.

As to the carpenters, I scarce need mention how useful they were, for they took in pieces all my clumsy, unhandy things, and made them clever, convenient tables, stools, bedsteads, cupboards, lockers, shelves, and everything they wanted of that kind.

Then I brought them out all my store of tools, and gave every man a digging spade, a shovel, and a rake, for we had no harrows or ploughs ; and to every separate place, a pick-axe, a crow, a broad-axe, and a saw ; always appointing, that as often as any was broken, or

worn-out, they should be supplied without grudging, out of the general stores that I left behind.

Nails, staples, hinges, hammers, chisels, knives, scissors, and all sorts of tools and iron-work, they had without tale, as they required ; for no man would care to take more than they wanted ; and he must be a fool that would waste or spoil them, on any account whatever. And for the use of the smith, I left two tons of unwrought iron for a supply.

The magazine of powder and arms I had brought with me was in such profusion that they could not but rejoice ; for now every man could march as I used to do, with a musket upon each shoulder, if there was occasion ; and were able to fight 1,000 savages, if they had but some little advantages of situation.

I carried on shore with me the young man whose mother was starved to death, and the maid also ; she was a sober, well-educated, religious young woman, and behaved so inoffensively, that every one gave her a good word. They had both of them come to me, and desired I would give them leave to remain on the island, and be entered among my family, as they called it. I agreed readily ; and they had a little plot of ground allotted to them, where they had three tents or houses set up, surrounded with a basket-work, palisado'd like Atkins's, adjoining to his plantation ; their tents were contrived so, that they had each of them a room apart to lodge in, and a middle tent, like a great store-house, to lay all their goods in, and to eat and drink in. And now the other two Englishmen removed their habitation to the same place ; and so the island was divided into three colonies, and no more ; namely, The Spaniards, with old Friday, and the first servants, at my old habitation under the hill, which was, in a word, the capital city, and where they had so enlarged and extended their works, as well under as on the outside of the hill, that they lived, though perfectly concealed, yet full at large. Never was there such a little city in a wood, and so hid, I believe, in any part of the world. For I verily believe 1,000 men might have ranged the island a month, and, if they had not known there was such a thing, and looked on purpose for it, they would not have found it.

The other colony was that of W. Atkins's, where there were four families of Englishmen, I mean those I had left there, with their wives and children. Three savages, that were slaves, the widow and children of the Englishman that was killed ; the young man and the maid ; and, by the way, we made a wife of her also, before we went away. There were also the two carpenters and the tailor I brought with me for them ; and the smith also, who was a very necessary man to them, especially

as a gunsmith, to take care of their arms ; and my other man, whom I called Jack of all trades ; who was in himself as good almost as twenty men, for he was not only a very ingenious fellow, but very merry withal ; and, before I went away, we married him to the honest maid that came with the youth in the ship, I mentioned before.

And now I speak of marrying, it brings me naturally to say something of the French ecclesiastic I had taken out of the ship burnt at sea. This man was a Roman, perhaps of the most possible type in the eyes of Protestants ; first he was a Papist ; secondly, a Popish priest ; and, thirdly, a French Popish priest. But justice demands of me to give him a due character ; and I must say, he was a grave, sober, pious, and most religious person ; exact in his life, extensive in his charity, and exemplary in almost everything he did.

The first hour that I began to converse with him, after he had agreed to go with me to the East Indies, I found reason to delight exceedingly in his conversation. He first began to converse with me about religion, in the most obliging manner imaginable. "Sir," says he, "you have not only, under God (and at that he crossed his breast), saved my life, but you have admitted me to go this voyage in your ship, and by your obliging civility, have taken me into your family, giving me an opportunity of free conversation. Now sir," says he, "you see by my habit what my profession is ; and I guess your's by your nation. I may think it my duty, and doubtless it is so, to use my utmost endeavours, on all occasions, to bring all the souls I can to embrace the Catholic doctrine ; but, as I am under your permission, and in your family, I am bound in justice to your kindness, as well as in decency and good manners, to be under your government ; and therefore I shall not, without your leave, enter into any debates on religion, in which we may not agree, farther than you shall give me leave."

I told him, his carriage was so modest, that I could not but acknowledge it ; that it was true, we were such people as they call heretics ; "but that he was not the first Catholic that I had conversed with, without carrying the questions to any height in debate ; that he should not find himself the worse used for being of a different opinion from us."

Having thus arranged the terms of our intercourse, he gave me a most diverting account of his life, and of the many extraordinary events of it ; of many adventures which had befallen him in the few years that he had been abroad in the world ; he had been five times shipped and unshipped on his present voyage, and never been able to reach the place whither the ships he was in were at first designed. His first

intent was, to have gone to Martinico ; and went on board a ship bound thither at St. Maloe ; but was forced into Lisbon by bad weather, the ship received some damage, by running aground in the mouth of the river Tagus, and was obliged to unload her cargo there. Finding a Portuguese ship there, bound to the Madeiras and ready to sail, he went on board, but the master being an indifferent mariner, had been out in his reckoning, and they drove to Fial, where he sold his cargo. He was then as far as the Banks, where he met with a French ship bound from France to Quebec, and from thence to Martinico. But when he came to Quebec, the master of the ship died, and the ship proceeded no farther. So the next voyage he shipped himself for France, in the ship that was burnt, when we took them up at sea, and then shipped with us for the East Indies. He now came to me one morning, and told me with a very grave countenance, that he had, for two or three days, desired an opportunity of some discourse with me, which, he hoped, should not be displeasing to me, because he thought it might, in some measure, correspond with my general design, which was the prosperity of my new colony ; and, perhaps, might put it, at least more than he yet thought it was, in the way of God's blessing.

I looked a little surprised at his discourse ; and after a long conversation, in which I was compelled more than ever to admire this man's pious and self-sacrificing spirit, I learned that his conscience was shocked to find the five Englishmen living on with the five women though unmarried, and he urged me to put an end to this unholy union.

"Sir," said he, "the essence of the sacrament of matrimony consists not only in the mutual consent of the parties to take one another as man and wife, but in the formal and legal obligation that there is in the contract, to compel the man and woman, at all times, to own and acknowledge each other ; obliging the man to abstain from all the other women, to engage in no other contract while these subsist.

"And how shall a blessing succeed your endeavours in this place, however good in themselves, and however sincere in your design, while these men, who at present are your subjects, under your absolute government and dominion, are allowed by you to live in open adultery ?

"Again, sir," said he, "though I do not acknowledge your religion, or you mine, yet we should be glad to see even the devil's servants taught to know the general principles of the Christian religion ; that they might at least hear of God, and of a Redeemer, and of the resurrection, and of a future state, things which we all believe ; they would at least be so much nearer coming into the bosom of the true church,

than they are now, in the public profession of idolatry, and devil-worship.

"O, sir," he added, "this thing is not your fault, nor is it too late yet. Give me leave to talk with those poor men about it, and then leave them to the mercy of Christ. It is our business to assist them, encourage them, and instruct them; and, if you will give me leave, and God His blessing, I do not doubt but the poor ignorant souls shall be brought into the great circle of Christianity."

And now came his concluding petition. "It is a maxim, sir, that is, or ought to be, received among all Christians, of what church, or pretended church soever, namely, the Christian knowledge ought to be propagated by all possible means, and on all possible occasions. It is on this principle that our church sends missionaries into Persia, India, and China; and that our clergy, even of the superior sort, willingly engage in the most hazardous voyages, and the most dangerous residence, among murderers and barbarians, to teach them the knowledge of the true God, and to bring them over to embrace the Christian faith. Now, sir, you have such an opportunity, here are six or seven-and-thirty poor savages to be brought over from idolatry to the knowledge of God, their Maker and Redeemer."

I explained to him my engagements in regard to the ship, and the impossibility of my undertaking the office he would thrust upon me. "It is a valuable thing," said I, "to be an instrument in God's hand, to convert seven-and-thirty heathens to the knowledge of Christ; but as you are an ecclesiastic, and are given over to the work, so that it seems naturally to fall into the way of your profession, how is it that you do not rather offer yourself to undertake it, than press me to it?"

Upon this he faced about, just before me, as we walked along, and, putting me to a full stop, made me a very low bow. "I most heartily thank God, and you, sir," says he, "for giving me so evident a call to so blessed a work; and if you think yourself discharged from it, and desire me to undertake it, I will most readily do it, and think it a happy reward for all the hazards and difficulties of such a broken, disappointed voyage as I have met with, that I may be dropped at last into so glorious a work."

I discovered a kind of rapture in his face, while he spoke this to me; his eyes sparkled like fire, his face glowed, and his colour came and went, as if he had been falling into fits: in a word, he was fired with the joy of being embarked in such a work.

"Yes, sir," says he, "I would give Christ and the Blessed Virgin thanks all my days, if I could be made the least happy instrument of

saving the souls of these poor men, though I was never to set my foot off of this island, or see my native country any more : but since you will honour me," says he, "with putting me into this work, I have one humble petition to you besides." "What is that?" said I. "It is, that you will leave your man Friday with me, to be my interpreter to them, and to assist me ; for, without some help, I cannot speak to them, or they to me."

I was sensibly troubled at his requesting Friday, because I could not think of parting with him, and that for many reasons : he had been the companion of my travels ; he was faithful and affectionate to the last degree ; and I had resolved to do something considerable for him, if he out-lived me. Then I knew, that as I had bred Friday up to be a Protestant, he would never embrace another profession or believe his old master to be a heretic. However, a sudden thought relieved me in this strait, and it was this : I told him I could not say that I was willing to part with Friday, though a work, that to him was of more value than his life, ought to be to me of much more value than the keeping or parting with a servant. But, on the other hand, I was persuaded that Friday would by no means consent to leave me. I had promised I would never put him away ; and he had promised and engaged to me that he would never leave me. He seemed very much concerned at this ; for he had no rational access to these poor people, seeing he did not understand one word of their language, or they one word of his. To remove this difficulty, I told him that Friday's father had learned Spanish, which I found he also understood, and would serve him for an interpreter ; but Providence gave another and very happy turn to all this.

When we came to the Englishmen, to whose quarter I was going when this conversation took place, I sent for them all together ; and after reminding them what I had done for them, I talked to them about their wives.

They all gave me the answer that I expected, namely, that there was nobody to marry them ; that they agreed before the governor to keep them as their wives ; and they thought, as things stood with them, they were as legally married as if they had been married by a parson, and with all the formalities in the world.

I told them, that no doubt they were married in the sight of God ; but the laws of man being otherwise, I could not think it was convenient they should continue together as man and wife ; for that it was both scandalous to men, and offensive to God, who never could bless them, if they went on thus.

All this went on as I expected ; and they told me, especially Will Atkins, who seemed now to speak for the rest, that they loved their wives as well as if they had been born in their own native country, and would not leave them upon any account whatever ; and they did verily believe their wives were as virtuous and as modest as any women could possibly be ; and they would not part with them on any account.

This was just as I would have it ; the priest was not with me at that moment, but was not far off. So, to try him farther, I told him I had a clergyman with me, and, if he was sincere, I would have him married the next morning ; and bid him consider of it, and talk with the rest. He said, as for himself, he need not consider of it at all ; for he was very ready to do it, and was glad I had a minister with me ; and he



believed they would be all willing also. I then told him, that my friend, the minister, was a Frenchman, and could not speak English ; but that I would act as clerk between them. He never so much as asked me whether he was a Papist or Protestant ; which was indeed what I was afraid of. And so we parted. I went back to my clergyman, and Will Atkins went in to talk with his companions.

Before I went from their quarter, they all came to me, and told me they had been considering what I had said ; that they were very glad to hear I had a clergyman in my company ; and they were very willing to give me the satisfaction I desired, and would be formally married as soon as I pleased ; for they were far from desiring to part with their wives ; and that they meant nothing but what was very honest, when

they chose them. The women were easily made sensible of the meaning of the thing, and were very well satisfied with it, as, indeed, they had reason to be ; so they failed not to attend all together, at my apartment, the next morning, where I brought out my clergyman : and though he had not on a minister's gown, after the manner of England, or the habit of a priest, after the manner of France ; yet having a black vest, something like a cassock, with a sash round it, he did not look very unlike a minister ; and as for his language, I was his interpreter.

After a most Christian-like discourse, which I interpreted to the men, in which they were exhorted to persuade their wives to embrace Christianity, he married three couple ; but Will Atkins and his wife were not yet come in. After this, my clergyman, waiting a while, was curious to know where Atkins was gone ; and, turning to me, says he, " I entreat you, sir, let us walk out of your labyrinth here, and look ; I dare say we shall find this poor man somewhere or other, talking seriously to his wife, and teaching her already something of religion." I began to be of the same mind ; so we went out together ; and I carried him by a way which none knew but myself, and where the trees were so thick set, that it was not easy to see through the thicket of leaves, and far harder to see in, than to see out ; when coming to the edge of the wood, I saw Atkins, and his tawny savage wife, sitting under the shade of a bush, very eager in discourse. I stopped short, till my clergyman came up to me ; and then, having showed him where they were, we stood and looked very steadily at them a good while.

We observed him very earnest with her, pointing up to the sun and to every quarter of the heavens ; then down to the earth, then out to the sea, then to himself, then to her, to the woods, to the trees. " Now," says my clergyman, " you see my words are made good ; the man preaches to her ; mark him ; now he is telling her that God has made him, and her, and the heavens, the earth, the sea, the woods, the trees." " I believe he is," said I. Immediately after we perceived Will Atkins start up upon his feet, fall down on his knees, and lift up both his hands ; we suppose he said something ; but we could not hear him : it was too far for that : he did not continue kneeling half a minute, but comes and sits down again by his wife, and talks to her again. We perceived then the woman very attentive ; but whether she said any thing or no, we could not tell. While the poor fellow was upon his knees, I could see the tears run plentifully down my clergyman's cheeks ; and I could hardly forbear myself ; but it was a great affliction to us both, that we were not near enough to hear any thing that passed between them.

Well, however, we could come no nearer, for fear of disturbing them : so we resolved to see an end of this piece of still conversation ; and it spoke loud enough to us, without the help of voice. He sat down again, as I have said, close by her, and talked again earnestly to her ; and two or three times we could saw him embrace her most passionately ; another time we saw him take out his handkerchief, and wipe her eyes, and then kiss her again, with a kind of transport very unusual ; and after several of these things, we saw him on a sudden jump up again, and lend her his hand to help her up ; when immediately leading her by the hand a step or two, they both kneeled down together, and continued so about two minutes.



My friend could bear it no longer, but cries out aloud, "St. Paul, St. Paul ! behold he prayeth !" I was afraid Atkins would hear him ; therefore I entreated him to withhold himself awhile, that we might see an end of the scene, which to me, I must confess, was the most affecting, and yet the most agreeable, that ever I saw in my life. This continued about half a quarter of an hour, and then they walked away ; so that we could see no more of them in that situation.

Well, as Will Atkins and his wife were gone, our business there was over ; so we went back our own way ; and when we came back, we found them waiting to be called in. Observing this, I asked my clergyman if we should discover to him that we had seen him under the bush, or no ; and it was his opinion we should not ; but that we should talk to him first, and hear what he would say to us : so we called him in alone nobody being in the place but ourselves.

The result of our questioning was that Atkins confessed that his father had been a clergyman, that his own wicked behaviour had brought his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave, and that now his conscience was awakened he was full of remorse and repentance for his past conduct ; in fact, he was truly penitent, and although it was no easy thing to make the wife understand the doctrines of Christianity, it at length appeared that she so far comprehended them as to wish for baptism before they married.

This was explained to me by my priest, who, turning himself to me, said he believed there must be more to do with this woman than to marry her ; that she ought to be baptized first.

I agreed with him in that part readily, and was for going about it presently. "No, no ! hold, Sir," said he, "though I would have her be baptized by all means, yet I must observe, that Will Atkins, her husband, has brought her, in a wonderful manner, to embrace a religious life ; and has given her just ideas of the being of a God, of His power, justice, mercy ; yet I desire to know of him, if he has said anything to her of Jesus Christ, and of the salvation of sinners ; of the nature of faith in Him ; and redemption by Him ; of the Holy Spirit, the resurrection, the last judgment, and a future state."

I called Will Atkins again, and asked him : but the poor fellow fell immediately into tears ; he told us, he had said something to her of all those things, but that he was himself so wicked a creature, and his own conscience so reproached him with his ungodly life, that he trembled at the apprehensions, that her knowledge of him should lessen the attention she should give to those things, and make her rather contemn religion than receive it ; but he was assured, he said, that her mind was so disposed to receive due impressions of all those things, that if I would but discourse with her, she would make it appear to my satisfaction, that my labour would not be lost upon her.

Accordingly I called her in, and placing myself as interpreter, the good man explained them with the sincerity of a Christian, and without any of the Roman Catholic errors. In a word, he brought the poor woman to embrace the knowledge of Christ, and of redemption by Him, not with wonder and astonishment only, as she did the first notions of a God, but with joy and faith, with an affection, and a surprising degree of understanding, scarce to be imagined, much less to be expressed ; and at her own request she was baptized.

When he was preparing to baptize her, I entreated him, that he would perform that office with some caution, that the man might not perceive he was of the Roman church, because of other ill consequences

which might attend a difference among us in that very religion, which we were instructing the other in. He told me that as he had no consecrated chapel, no proper things for the office, I should see he would do it in a manner that I should not know by it that he was a Roman Catholic myself, if I had not known it before : and so he did ; for saying only some words over to himself in Latin, which I could not understand, he poured a whole dish full of water upon the woman's head, pronouncing in French very loud, *Mary*—which was the name her husband desired me to give her, for I was her godfather—I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; so that none could know anything by it, what religion he was of : he gave the benediction afterwards in Latin ; but either Will



Atkins did not know but it was in French, or else did not take notice of it at that time.

As soon as this was over, we married them ; and after the marriage was over, he turned himself to Will Atkins, and in a very affectionate manner exhorted him not only to persevere in that good disposition he was in, but to support the convictions that were upon him, by a resolution to reform his life : told him, it was in vain to say he repented, if he did not forsake his crimes ; represented to him, how God had honoured him with being the instrument of bringing his wife to the knowledge of the Christian religion ; and that he should be careful he did not dishonour the grace of God ; and that if he did, he would see the heathen a better Christian than himself.

Having thus brought the affair of the island to a narrow compass, I was preparing to go on board the ship, when the young man, whom I had taken out of the famished ship's company, came to me, and told me, he understood I had a clergyman with me, and that he had a match too, which he desired might be finished before I went, between two Christians ; which he hoped would not be disagreeable to me.

I knew this must be the young woman who was his mother's servant, for there was no other Christian woman on the island ; so I began to persuade him not to do anything of that kind rashly ; but he interrupted me, smiling, and told me, with a great deal of modesty, that I was mistaken in my guesses ; that he had nothing of that kind in his thoughts. In fact he told me it was my Jack of all trades, and his maid Susan, he wished to see married.

I was most agreeably surprised when he named the match ; for indeed I thought it very suitable. The character of that man I have given already ; and as for the maid, she was a very honest, modest, sober, and religious young woman ; had a very good share of sense ; was agreeable enough in her person ; spoke very handsomely, and to the purpose.

The match being proposed in this manner, we married them the same day ; and, as I was father at the altar, as I may say, and gave her away, so I gave her a portion ; for I appointed her and her husband a handsome large space of ground for their plantation.

One thing I must not omit to mention among the arrangements I completed before I left them. And this is, that being now settled in a kind of commonwealth among themselves, and having much business in hand, it seemed odd to have seven-and-thirty Indians live in a nook of the island, independent, and unemployed ; for, excepting the providing themselves food, which they had difficulty enough in too, sometimes, they had no manner of employment. I proposed therefore to the governor Spaniard, that he should visit them with Friday's father, and propose to them to remove, and either plant for themselves, or take them into their several families as servants, to be maintained for their labour, but without being slaves ; for they had their liberty given them by capitulation, and, as it were, articles of surrender, which ought not to be broken. They most willingly embraced the proposal, and came all very cheerfully along with him ; so we allotted them land and plantations, which three or four accepted of, but all the rest chose to be employed as servants in the several families we had settled.

All the east end of the island was still left uninhabited, that if any of the savages should come on shore there, for their usual customary

barbarities, they might come and go ; if they disturbed nobody, nobody would disturb them ; and no doubt but they were often ashore, and went away again ; for I never heard that the planters were ever attacked or disturbed any more.

It now came into my thoughts, that I had hinted to my friend the clergyman, that the work of converting the savages might, perhaps, be set on foot in his absence, to his satisfaction. I told him, we would either call them all together, and leave it in charge with them, or go to them one by one, which he thought best ; so we divided it, he to speak to the Spaniards, who were all Papists, and I to the English, who were all Protestants ; and we recommended it earnestly to them, and made them promise, that they would never make any distinction of Papist or Protestant, in their exhorting the savages to turn Christians.

When I came to W. Atkins's house—I may call it so ; for such a house, or such a piece of basket-work, I believe was not standing in the world again ; I say when I came there, I found the young woman I have mentioned above, and W. Atkins's wife were become intimates ; and this prudent, religious young woman had perfected the work Will Atkins had begun ; and though it was not above four days after what I have related, yet the new baptized woman was such a Christian, as I have seldom heard of any like her.

It came next into my mind, in the morning, before I went to them, that amongst all the needful things I had to leave with them, I had not left them a bible ; in which I showed myself less considerate for them, than my good friend the widow was when she sent me the cargo of an hundred pounds from Lisbon, where she packed up three bibles and a prayer-book. However the good woman's charity had a greater extent than ever she imagined ; for they were reserved for the comfort and instruction of those that made much better use of them than I had done.

I took one of the bibles in my pocket, and when I came to Will Atkins's tent, or house, I found the young woman, and Atkins's baptized wife, had been discoursing of religion together ; for Will Atkins told it me, with a great deal of joy. I asked if they were together now ? And he said "yes ;" so I went into the house, and he with me, and we found them together, very earnest in discourse. "O, Sir," says Will Atkins, "when God has sinners to reconcile to Himself, and aliens to bring home, He never wants a messenger. My wife has got a new instructor ; I knew I was unworthy, as I was incapable of that work ; that young woman has been sent hither from Heaven ; she is enough to convert a whole island of savages." The young woman blushed, and

rose up to go away, but I desired her to sit still; I told her "she had a good work upon her hands, and I hoped God would bless her in it."

And now I have done with the island. I left them all in good circumstances, and in a flourishing condition, and went on board my ship again, having been five-and-twenty days among them; and as they were all resolved to stay upon the island till I came to remove them. After talking a little, I put my hand in my pocket, and pulled out my bible. "Here, Atkins," said I, "I have brought you an assistant you had not before." The man was confounded, and, turning to his wife with the book in his hand, "Here, my dear," said he, "did not I tell you our God, though He lives above, could hear what we said? Here is the book I prayed for." And tears of joy ran down his face, for he cried like a child.

The next day, giving them a salute of five guns at parting, we set sail, and arrived at the bay of All Saints, in the Brasils, in about twenty-two days: meeting nothing remarkable in our passage but this. That about three days after we sailed, being becalmed, and the current setting strong to the E.N.E. running as it were into a bay on the land-side, we were driven something out of our course; and once or twice our men cried out, Land to the eastward; but whether it was the continent, or islands, we could not tell by any means. But the third day, towards evening, the sea smooth and the weather calm, we saw the sea, as it were, covered, towards the land, with something very black, not being able to discover what it was; till, after some time, our chief mate going up the main shrouds a little way, and looking at them with a glass, cried out, it was an army. I could not imagine what he meant by an army, and spoke a little hastily, calling the fellow a fool, or some such word. "Nay, Sir," says he, "do not be angry, for it is an army, and a fleet too; for I believe there are a thousand canoes, and you may see them paddle along, and they are coming towards us too, apaca."

I was a little surprised, but I told the sailors they had nothing to fear but fire; and therefore they should get their boats out, and fasten them, one close by the head, and the other by the stern, and man them both well, and wait the issue in that posture: this I did, that the men in the boats might be ready, with skeets and buckets, to put out any fire these savages might endeavour to fix to the outside of the ship.

In this posture we lay by for them, and in a little while they came up with us, but never was such a horrid sight seen by Christians. My mate was much mistaken in his calculation of their number, I mean of a thousand canoes; the most we could make of them when they came

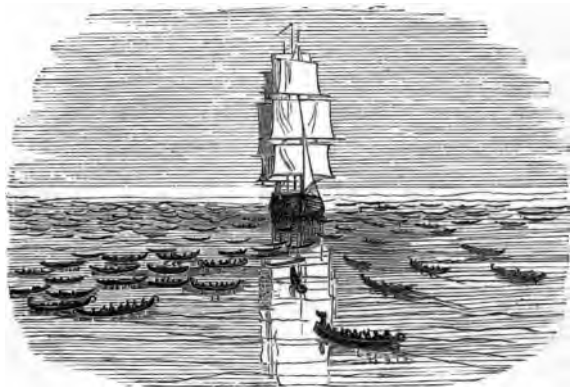




CRUSOE GIVING BIBLE TO WILL ATKINS



up, being about a hundred and twenty-six, and enough of them too ; for some of them had sixteen or seventeen men in them, and some more, and the least of them six or seven. When they came nearer to us, they seemed to be struck with wonder and astonishment. They came boldly up, however, very near, and seemed about to row round us ; but we called to our men in the boats, not to let them come too near them.



This very order brought us to an engagement with them, without our designing it ; for five or six of their large canoes came so near our long-boat, that our men beckoned with their hands to them to keep them back ; which they understood very well, and went back ; but in their retreat about fifty arrows came on board us from those boats ; and one of our men in the long-boat was very much wounded. I called to them not to fire by any means ; but we handed down some deal board into the boat, and the carpenter presently set up a kind of a fence, like waste boards, to cover them from the arrows of the savages, if they should shoot again.

About half an hour afterwards they came all up in a body astern of, and pretty near us, so near that we could easily discern them, though we could not tell their design. I now found they were some of my old friends, the same sort of savages that I had been used to engage with ; and in a little time more they rowed a little farther out to sea, till they came directly broadside with us, and then rowed down straight upon us, coming so near that we could hear them speak. I ordered all my men to keep close, lest they should shoot any more arrows, and make all our guns ready ; but being so near as to be within hearing, I made Friday go out upon the deck, and call out aloud to them in his language

to know what they meant; which accordingly he did. Whether they understood him or not, I know not; but, as soon as he had called to them, six of them, who were in the foremost boats, exhibited a gesture of great contempt. Whether this was done as a defiance or a challenge, or as a signal to the rest, we knew not; but immediately Friday cried out, "They are going to shoot;" and unhappily for him they let fly about 300 of their arrows; and, to my inexpressible grief, killed poor Friday, no other man being in their sight. The poor fellow was shot with no less than three arrows, and about three more fell very near him; such unlucky marksmen they were.

I was so enraged with the loss of my old servant, the companion of all my sorrows and solitudes, that I immediately ordered five guns to be loaded with small shot, and four with great; and gave them such a broadside as they had never heard in their lives before, to be sure.

They were not above half a cable length off when we fired; and our gunners took their aim so well, that three or four of their canoes were upset, as we had reason to believe, by one shot only.

I can neither tell how many we killed, or how many we wounded, at this broadside; but surely such a fright and hurry was never seen among such a multitude; there were thirteen or fourteen of their canoes split, and upset in all; and the men all swimming about; the rest, frightened out of their wits, scoured away as fast as they could, taking but little care to save those whose boats were split or spoiled with our shot; so I suppose they were many of them lost; and our men picked up one poor fellow swimming for his life, above an hour after they were all gone.

The small shot from our cannon must needs have killed and wounded a great many; but, in short, we never knew anything how it went with them; for they fled so fast, that, in three hours, or thereabouts, we could not see above three or four straggling canoes; nor did we ever see more of them; for a breeze springing up the same evening, we weighed and set sail for the Brasils.

We had a prisoner indeed, but the creature was so sullen, that he would neither eat nor speak; and we all fancied he would starve himself to death; but I took a way to cure him, for I made them take him into the long-boat, and make him believe they would toss him into the sea again, and so leave him where they found him, if he would not speak: they really did throw him into the sea, and come away from him, and then he followed them, for he swam like a cork, and called to them in his tongue, though they knew not one word of what he said. However, at last, they took him in again, and then he began to be more tractable.

We were now under sail again, but I was disconsolate for my man Friday. We had one prisoner, as I have said; but it was a long while before we could make him understand anything; but, in time, our men taught him some English, and he began to be a little tractable: afterwards we inquired what country he came from, but could make nothing of what he said; for his speech was so odd, all gutturals, and spoke in the throat in such a hollow odd manner, that we could never form a word after him.

And now I must take my last leave of poor honest Friday! We buried him with all the decency and solemnity possible, by putting him into a coffin, and throwing him into the sea; and I caused them to fire eleven guns over him: and so ended the life of the most grateful, faithful, honest, and most affectionate servant that ever man had.

We went now away with a fair wind for Brasil, and, in about twelve days' time, we made land in the latitude of five degrees south of the line, being the north-eastermost land of all that part of America. We kept on S. by E. in sight of the shore four days, when we made the Cape St. Augustine, and in three days more came to an anchor off of the bay of All Saints, the old place of my deliverance, from whence came both my good and evil fate.

Here, my honest and truly pious clergyman left me; a ship being ready to go to Lisbon, he asked me leave to go thither in her; being still, as he observed, bound never to finish any voyage he began. How happy had it been for me, if I had gone with him. But it was too late now; all things Heaven appoints are best; had I gone with him, I had never had so many things to be thankful for, and you had never heard of the second part of the *Travels and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*; so I must leave here the fruitless exclaiming at myself, and go on with my voyage.

From the Brasils we made directly away over the Atlantic sea, to the Cape of Good Hope; and had a tolerable good voyage. Our ship was on a trading voyage, and had a supercargo on board, who was to direct all her motions, after she arrived at the Cape. We made therefore no stay, longer than was needful to take in fresh water, but made the best of our way for the coast of Coromandel; we were indeed informed that a French man-of-war of fifty guns, and two large merchant ships, were gone for the Indies; and, as I knew we were at war with France, I had some apprehensions of them; but they went their own way, and we heard no more of them.

We touched first at the island of Madagascar, where, though the people are fierce and treacherous, and, in particular, very well armed

with lances and bows, which they use with inconceivable dexterity, yet we fared very well with them awhile ; they treated us very civilly ; and for some trifles which we gave them, such as knives, scissors, &c. they brought us eleven good fat bullocks, middling in size, but very good in flesh ; which we took in, partly for fresh provisions for our present spending, and the rest to salt for the ship's use.

We were obliged to stay here some time, after we had furnished ourselves with provisions ; and I, that was always too curious to look into every nook of the world wherever I came, was for going on shore as often as I could. It was on the east side of the island that we went on shore one evening ; and the people, who, by the way, are very numerous, came thronging about us, and stood gazing at us at a distance ; but as we had traded freely with them, and had been kindly used, we thought ourselves in no danger ; but when we saw the people, we cut three boughs out of a tree, and stuck them at a distance from us, which, it seems, is a mark in the country, not only of truce and friendship, but when it is accepted, the other side set up three poles, or boughs also ; which is a signal that they accept the truce too ; but then this is a known condition of the truce, that you are not to pass beyond their three poles towards them, nor they to come past your



three poles or boughs towards you ; so that you are perfectly secure within the three poles : and all the space between your poles and theirs, is market for free converse, traffic, and commerce. When you go there you must not carry your weapons with you ; and if they come into that space, they stick up their javelins and lances at the first poles, and come on unarmed.

It happened one evening, when we went on shore, that a greater number than usual of these people came down, but all was very friendly and civil, and they brought in several kinds of provisions, for which we satisfied them with such toys as we had ; their women also brought us milk and roots, and several things very acceptable to us, and all was quiet ; and we made us a little tent, or hut, of some boughs of trees, and lay on shore all night. I know not why, but I was not so well satisfied to lie on shore as the rest ; and the boat riding at an anchor about a stone cast from the land, with two men in her, I made one of them come on shore, to get some boughs of trees to cover us, and spreading the sail on the bottom of the boat, I lay with them all night in the boat under the boughs.

About two o'clock in the morning we heard a terrible noise on shore, one of our men calling out for God's sake to bring the boat in, and come and help them, for they were all like to be murdered ; at the same time, five muskets were discharged, and that three times over ; rousing immediately, I caused the boat to be thrust in, and with the three fusils we had on board, hastened to assist our men. We got the boat soon to the shore ; and our men plunged into the water, to get to the boat with all the expedition they could, being pursued by between three and four hundred natives. Our men were but nine in all, and only five of them had fusils with them ; the rest had indeed pistols and swords, but they were of small use to them. We took up seven of them, and with difficulty enough too, three of them being badly wounded ; and what was worse, while we stood in the boat, we were in as much danger as they were on shore ; for they poured their arrows in upon us so thick, that we were fain to barricade the side of the boat with benches, and two or three loose boards, which we had, by mere accident, or providence, in the boat. Had it been daylight, they are, it seems, such exact marksmen, that if they could have seen but the least part of any of us, they would have been sure of us. We had a little sight of them, by the light of the moon, as they stood pelting us from the shore with darts and arrows ; and, having got ready our fire-arms, we gave them a volley. We could hear by their cries, that we had wounded several ; however, they stood thus in battle array on the shore till break of day, while we could not tell how to weigh our anchor, or set up our sail, because we must needs stand up in the boat, where we were sure to be hit ; we made signals of distress to the ship, which rode a full league off, yet my nephew, the captain, hearing our firing, and perceiving by the glasses the posture we lay in, pretty well understood our positions, and weighing anchor with all speed, he stood as near the shore as he

durst with the ship, and then sent another boat, with ten hands in her, to our assistance, and one of the men, taking the end of a tow-line in his hand, and keeping our boat between him and the enemy, so that they could not perfectly see him, swam on board us, and made the line fast to the boat; upon which we slipt our little cable, leaving our anchor behind; they soon towed us out of reach of the arrows; we all the while lying close behind the barricade we had made.

As soon as we could get from between the ship and the shore, she laid her broadside to it, and run along just by them, pouring in a broadside loaded with pieces of iron and lead, small bullets and such like stuff, besides the great shot, which made a terrible havoc among them.

When we got on board, and were fairly out of danger, we had time to examine into the occasion of this fray; it came out, that an old woman, who had come to sell us some milk, brought a young woman with her, who also brought some roots or herbs; and while the old woman was selling us the milk, one of our men offered some rudeness to the younger one; at which the old woman made a great noise. The seaman would not quit his prize, but carried her out of her sight, among the trees, it being almost dark; and now the old woman made an outcry among the people she came from; who attacked us as we have seen; and it was great odds that we had not all been destroyed.

One of our men was killed with a lance that was thrown at him, just at the beginning of the attack, as he sallied out of the tent they had set up; the rest came off free, all but the fellow who was the occasion of the mischief, who paid dear enough for his black mistress, for we didn't hear what became of him for a great while. We lay upon the shore for two days though the wind was fair, and made signals for him; our boat sailed up and down shore, for several leagues, but in vain; so we were obliged to give him over; and if he alone had suffered, the loss had been the less.

I could not feel satisfied myself, however, without venturing on shore once more, to try if I could learn anything of him; it was the third night after the action before I ventured, and I was careful to do it in the dark, lest we should be attacked again; but I ought indeed to have been sure, that the men I went with had been under my command, before I engaged in a thing so hazardous and mischievous. We started twenty stout fellows with us as any in the ship, besides the supercargo and myself; and we landed two hours before midnight, at the same place where the natives stood drawn up the evening before. My design was to surprise one or two of them, perhaps we might get our man again, by way of exchange.

We landed without noise, and divided the men into two bodies, whereof the boatswain commanded one, and I the other. We neither saw nor heard anybody stir when we landed ; and marched up one body at a distance from the other, to the place, but at first could see nothing, it being very dark ; by and by, however, our boatswain, that led the first party, stumbled and fell over a dead body. This made them halt for my coming up here ; when the moon began to rise, we could easily discern the havoc we had made among them. We told two-and-thirty bodies upon the ground, whereof two were not quite dead. Some had an arm, and some a leg, shot off ; and one his head. Those that were slightly wounded, we supposed they had carried away.

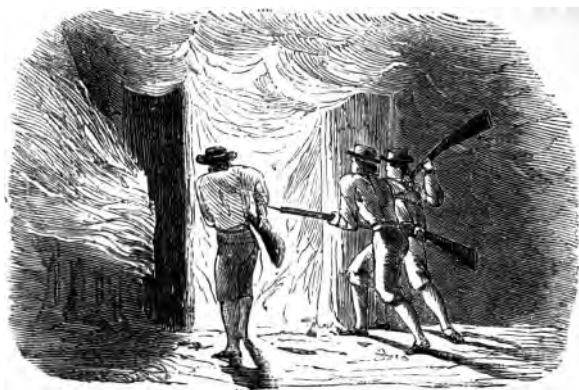
When we had made, as I thought, a full discovery of all we could come at, I was resolved on going on board ; but the boatswain and his party sent me word, that they were resolved to make a visit to the Indian town, where these dogs, as they called them, dwelt, and asked me to go along with them ; and if they could find them as still they fancied they should, they did not doubt getting a good booty ; and it might be, they might find Tom Jeffry there.

Had they sent to ask my leave to go, I knew well enough what answer to have given them ; for I should have commanded them instantly on board ; but as they sent me word they were resolved to go, and only asked me and my company to go along with them, I positively refused it, and rose up in order to go back to the boat. One or two of the men began to importune me to go ; and, when I refused positively, began to grumble, and say they were not under my command, and they would go. "Come, Jack," says one of the men, "will you go with me ? I will go for one." Jack said he would ; and another followed ; and then another ; and, in a word, they all left me but one, who was persuaded to stay : so the supercargo and I, with the third man, went back to the boat, where we told them, we would stay for them, and take in as many of them as should be left ; for I told them, it was a mad thing they were going about, and supposed most of them would run the fate of Tom Jeffry.

Well, they all went away, and though the attempt was desperate, and such as none but madmen would have gone about, yet, to give them their due, they went about it as warily as boldly. They went on a little way, and found a cow tied to a tree ; this they presently concluded would be a good guide to them. In a word, the cow led them directly to the town, which, as they report, consisted of above two hundred houses, or huts ; and in some of these they found several families living together. Here they found all in silence, as profound as sleep, and a

country that had never seen an enemy, could make them. While they were holding counsel what course to take, three of them, that were a little before the rest, called out aloud, that they had found Tom Jeffry; they all ran up to the place, and so it was indeed, for there they found the poor fellow, hanged up naked by one arm, and his throat cut. The sight of their poor mangled comrade so enraged them, that they swore to one another, that not an Indian that came into their hands should have quarter; and to work they went immediately. Their first care was to get something that would soon take fire. As soon as the fire began to blaze, the poor frightened creatures rushed out to save their lives; but met with their fate in the attempt, and especially at the door, where they drove them back, the boatswain himself killing one or two with his pole-axe. The house being large, and many in it, he did not care to go in, but called for a hand-grenade, and threw it among them, which at first frightened them; but when it burst, made such havoc among them, that they cried out in a hideous manner.

In short, most of the principal natives who were in the open part of the house were killed or hurt with the grenade, two or three more, who pressed to the door, which the boatswain and two more kept, with the bayonets in the muzzles of their pieces, were despatched in that way.



But there was another apartment in the house, where the prince, or king, and several others, were, and these they kept in, till the house, which was by this time a mass of flame, fell in upon them, and they were smothered, or burnt together.

All this while they fired not a gun, because they would not waken the people faster than they could master them; but the fire now began

to waken them fast enough, so that our fellows were glad to keep together ; for the fire grew so raging, all the houses being made of light combustible stuff, that they could hardly bear the street between them ; and their business was to follow the fire for the surer execution. As fast as the fire forced the people out of the burning houses, our people were ready at their doors to knock them on the head, still calling and hallooing to one another to remember Tom Jeffrys.

While this was doing, I was very uneasy, and especially when I saw the flames of the town, which, it being night, seemed to be close by. My nephew too, who was roused by his men, seeing such a fire, and not knowing what exigence we might be in, he takes another boat, and with thirteen more men, comes himself on shore to me. Finding how matters stood, he determined to go to the assistance of his men, only regretting he had left so many men in the ship ; for he could not think of having his men lost for want of help. And away he went. Nor was I more able to stay behind. The captain ordered two men to row back in the pinnace, and fetch twelve men more, leaving the long-boat at anchor ; six of the men now sent for, were to keep the two boats, and six more come after us ; which left only sixteen men in the ship ; for the whole ship's company were now brought into this mischief.

The first object we met with was the ruins of a hut or house, or rather the ashes of it, for the house was consumed ; and just before it lay four men and three women killed. In short, there were instances of rage altogether barbarous, and of a fury something more than human : we thought it impossible our men could have been guilty of it. My very soul shrunk within me, and my blood ran chill in my veins when I saw this ; however, we took means to let the poor creatures know that we would not hurt them, and they came to us with piteous lamentation to save them, and crept all together in a huddle, close behind us, as for protection. I left my men drawn up together, and charged them to hurt nobody, but, if possible, to get at some of our people, and see what devil it was possessed them, and what they intended to do ; and, in a word, to command them off ; assuring them, that if they stayed till daylight, they would have a hundred thousand men about their ears. While I was issuing my orders to the men, four of them made their appearance, with the boatswain at their head, roving over the heaps of bodies they had killed, all covered with blood and dust, and looking for more people to massacre ; our men halloed to them, and with much ado, one of them made them hear. As soon as the boatswain saw us, he set up a shout of triumph, " Captain," says he, " noble captain, I am glad you are come ;

we have not half done yet ; the villanous hell-hound dogs ! I will kill as many of them as poor Tom had hairs upon his head ; we have sworn to spare none of them ; we will root out the very nation of them from the earth : ” and thus he ran on, out of breath too with action, and would not give me leave to speak a word.

At last, raising my voice that I might silence him a little. “ Barbarous dog ! what are you doing ? I will not have one creature more touched upon pain of death. I charge you, upon your life, to stop your hands, and stand still there, or you are a dead man.”

“ Why, sir,” says he, “ do you know what they have done ? If you want a reason for what we have done, come hither ; ” and with that he showed me the poor fellow hanging upon a tree, with his throat cut.

I confess I was urged on then myself, and when the men I carried with me saw the sight, I had much to do to restrain them ; nay, my nephew himself fell in with them, and told me, in their hearing, that he was only fearful of the men being overpowered. Upon these words, away ran eight of my men with the boatswain and his crew, to complete their bloody work. It was quite out of my power to restrain them, and I came away pensive and sad ; for I could not bear the sight, much less the horrible noise and cries of the poor wretches that fell into their hands.

By the time the men got to the shore again with the pinnace, our men began to appear ; they came dropping in, not in two bodies, and in form, as they went, but all in small knots, straggling here and there in such a manner, that a small force of resolute men might have cut them all off. But the dread of them was upon the whole country. The next day we set sail ; so we never heard any more of it. One would think this should have been enough to have warned us against going on shore again among heathens and barbarians ; but it is impossible to make mankind wise, except at their own expense ; and their experience seems to be always of most use to them, when it is dearest bought, and most valued when it comes too late.

We were now bound to the gulf of Persia, and from thence to the coast of Coromandel, only to touch at Surat ; but the chief of the supercargo’s trading lay at the bay of Bengal, where if he missed of his market, he was to go on to China, and return to this coast as he came home.

The first disaster that befel us was in the gulf of Persia, where five of our men, venturing on shore on the Arabian side of the gulf, were surrounded by the Arabians, and either all killed, or carried away into slavery ; the rest of the boat’s crew not being able to rescue them, and had but just time to get off themselves. I began to upbraid them with

the just retribution of Heaven in this case, but the boatswain very warmly told me he thought I went farther in my censures than I could show any warrant for; that none of those five men, who were now lost, were of the number of those who went on shore to the massacre of Madagascar (so I always called it, though our men could not bear the word massacre with any patience): and, indeed, this last circumstance, as I have said, put me to silence for the present. But my frequent preaching to them on this subject had worse consequences than I expected; and the boatswain, who had been the head of the attempt, came up boldly to me one time, and told me, he found that I continually brought that affair upon the stage; that I made unjust reflections upon it, and had used the men very ill on that account, and himself in particular; that as I was but a passenger, and had no command in the ship, or concern in the voyage, they were not obliged to bear it; that they did not know but I might have some ill design in my head, and, perhaps, to call them to an account for it, when they came to England; and that, therefore, unless I would resolve to have done with it, and also not to concern myself any farther with him, or any of his affairs, he would leave the ship; for he did not think it was safe to sail with me among them.

I heard him patiently enough till he had done, and then told him, that I did confess that I had all along opposed the massacre of Madagascar, for such I would always call it; and that I had on all occasions spoken my mind freely about it, though not more upon him than any of the rest; that as to my having no command in the ship, that was true, nor did I exercise any authority, I only took the liberty of speaking my mind in things which publicly concerned us all; and what concern I had in the voyage, that was none of his business; that I was a considerable owner of the ship, and in that claim I conceived I had a right to speak, even farther than I had yet done, and would not be accountable to him, or any one else; and began to be a little warm with him. He made but little reply to me at that time, and I thought that affair had been over, but I was mistaken. We were at this time on the road to Bengal; and, being arrived there and wishing to see the place, I went on shore with the supercargo, to divert myself; and towards evening was preparing to go on board, when one of the men came to me, and told me, he would not have me trouble myself to come down to the boat, for they had orders not to carry me on board again. Any one may guess what a surprise I was in at so insolent a message; and I asked the man who bade him deliver that errand to me? He told me the coxswain. I said no more to the fellow, but bade him let

them know he had delivered his message, and that I had given him no answer to it.

I immediately went, and found out the supercargo, and told him the story, adding, what I presently foresaw, namely, that there would certainly be a mutiny in the ship; and entreated him to go immediately on board the ship in an Indian boat, and acquaint the captain of it; but I might have spared this intelligence, for, before I had spoken to him on shore, the matter was effected on board: the boatswain, the gunner, the carpenter, and in a word, all the inferior officers, as soon as I was gone off in the boat, came up to the quarter-deck, and desired to speak with the captain; and there the boatswain, making a long harangue (for the fellow talked very well), and repeating all he had said to me, told the captain in few words, that as I was now gone peaceably on shore, they were loth to use any violence with me; which, if I had not gone on shore, they would otherwise have done, to oblige me to have gone. They, therefore, thought fit to tell him, that as they shipped themselves to serve in the ship under his command, they would perform it well and faithfully; but if I would not quit the ship, or the captain oblige me to quit it, they would all leave the ship, and sail no farther with him; and at that word ALL, he turned his face about towards the main-mast, which was, it seems, the signal agreed on between them; at which all the seamen being got together there, cried out, "One and ALL, One and ALL!"

My nephew was a man of spirit, and of great presence of mind, and though he was surprised, you may be sure, at the thing, yet he told them calmly he would consider of the thing; but that he could do nothing in it till he had spoken to me about it: he used some arguments with them, to show them the unreasonableness and injustice of the thing; but it was all in vain; they swore, and shook hands round, before his face, that they would go all on shore, unless he would engage to them, not to suffer me to come any more on board the ship. To bring this disagreeable subject to a conclusion, my nephew came on shore to me, and it was arranged that all my things and as much money as I wanted should be sent on shore, and that I should find my way to England as well as I might.

I was now alone in the remotest part of the world, as I think I may call it; for I was near three thousand leagues, by sea, farther off from England than I was at my island; only, it is true, I might travel here by land, over the Great Mogul's country to Surat, might go from thence to Bassora by sea, up the gulf of Persia, and from thence might take the way of the caravans over the desert of Arabia to Aleppo

and Scanderoon ; from thence, by sea, again to Italy, and so overland through France. And this put together, might be at least a full diameter of the globe ; but, if it were to be measured, I suppose it would appear to be a great deal more.

I had another way before me, which was to wait for an English ship, coming to Bengal from Achin, in the island of Sumatra, and get a passage on board them for England, but as I came hither without any concern with the English East India Company, so it would be difficult to go from hence without their licence, or by favour of the captains of the ships, or of the company's factors ; and to all I was an utter stranger.

Here I had the particular pleasure, speaking by contraries, to see the ship set sail without me ; a treatment, I think, a man in my circumstances scarce ever met with before, except from pirates running away with the ship, and setting those that would not agree with their villany on shore : indeed, this was the next door to it, both ways. However, my nephew left me a companion, and a servant ; the first was clerk to the purser, who engaged to go with me ; and the other was his own servant. I took a lodging in the house of an English woman, where several merchants lodged, some French, two Italians, or rather Jews, and one Englishman. After a long stay here, and many proposals made for my return to England, but none falling out to my mind, the English merchant, with whom I had now contracted an intimate acquaintance, came to me one morning : "Countryman," says he, "I have a project to communicate to you, which may, for aught I know, suit with your wishes, when you shall have thoroughly considered it. Here we are posted, you by accident, and I by my own choice, in a part of the world very remote from our own country ; but it is in a country where, by us who understand trade and business, a great deal of money is to be got : if you will put a thousand pound to my thousand pound, we will hire a ship here, the first we can get to our minds ; you shall be captain, I will be merchant, and we will go a trading voyage to China : for what should we stand still for ? The whole world is in motion, rolling round and round ; all the creatures of God, heavenly bodies and earthly, are busy and diligent : why should we be idle ? There are no drones in the world but men : why should we be of that number ?"

I liked his proposal very well ; and the more so, because it seemed to be expressed with so much good-will, and in so friendly a manner. I will not say, but that I might, by my loose and unhinged circumstances, be the fitter to embrace a proposal for trade, or, indeed, for

anything else ; whereas, otherwise, trade was none of my element. However, I might, perhaps, say, with some truth, that if trade was not my element, rambling was ; and no proposal for seeing any part of the world which I had never seen before, could possibly come amiss to me. It was, however, some time before we could get a ship to our minds ; and when we got a vessel, it was not easy to get English sailors ; that is to say, so many as were necessary to govern the voyage, and manage the sailors which we should pick up. After some time we got a mate, a boatswain, and a gunner, English ; a Dutch carpenter, and three Portuguese foremast men ; with these, we found we could do well enough, having Indian seamen, such as they are, to make up. We made the voyage to Achin, in the island of Sumatra, and from thence to Siam, where we exchanged some of our wares for opium, and some arrack ; the first, a commodity which bears a great price among the Chinese, and which, at that time, was very much wanted there ; in a word, we went up to Chushan ; made a very great voyage ; were eight months out ; and returned to Bengal : and I was very well satisfied with my adventure, and got so much money by it, and such an insight into the method of getting more, that, had I been twenty years younger, I should have been tempted to have stayed here, and sought no farther for making my fortune.

But I had a kind of impatience upon me to be nearer home, and yet the most unsettled resolution imaginable which way to go. In the interval of these consultations, my friend, who was always upon the search for business, proposed another voyage to me, among the Spice Islands ; and to bring home a loading of cloves from the Manillas, or thereabouts ; places where, indeed, the Dutch do trade, but islands belonging partly to the Spaniards ; though we went not so far, but to some other, where they have not the whole power as they have at Batavia.

But to be short with my speculations, I must here refer to one that brought us into great trouble. A little while after this, there came in a Dutch ship from Batavia ; she was a coaster, not an European trader, and of about two hundred ton burden : the men, as they pretended, having been so sickly, that the captain had not men enough to go to sea with, he lay by at Bengal ; and, having got money enough, or being willing, for other reasons, to go to Europe, he gave public notice, that he would sell his ship : this came to my ears and I had a great mind to buy it. So I goes home to my partner, and told him of it : he considered awhile, for he was no rash man neither ; but musing some time, he replied, "She is a little too big ; but, however, we will have her."

Accordingly we bought the ship ; and, agreeing with the master, we paid for her, and took possession ; when we had done so, we resolved to induce the men, if we could, to join her with those we had, for the pursuing our business ; but on a sudden, they having received no wages, not one of them was to be found. We inquired much about them, and at length were told, that they were all gone together, by land, to Agra, the great city of the Mogul's residence ; and from thence were to travel to Surat, and so by sea to the gulf of Persia. The very ground over which I wanted to go myself, and nothing had so heartily troubled me a good while, as that I missed the opportunity of going with them ; but I was much better satisfied a few days after, when I came to know what sort of fellows they were ; for, in short, their history was, that this man they called captain was the gunner only, not the commander ; that they had been a trading voyage, in which they were attacked on shore by some of the Malaccans, who had killed the captain and three of his men ; and that after the captain was killed, these men, eleven in number, had resolved to run away with the ship, which they did ; and had brought her in at the bay of Bengal, leaving the mate and five men more on shore ; of whom we shall hear farther.



Well ; let them come by the ship how they would, we came honestly by her, as we thought ; though we did not, I confess, examine into things so exactly as we ought.

But having picked up some more English seamen here after this and some Dutch, we now resolved for a second voyage to the south-

east, for cloves, &c. ; that is to say, among the Philippine and Molucca isles.

In this voyage, being by contrary winds obliged to beat up and down a great while in the straits of Malacca, and among the islands, we were no sooner got clear of those difficult seas, but we found our ship had sprung a leak, and we were not able, by all our industry, to find out where it was. This forced us to make for some port ; and my partner, who knew the country better than I did, directed the captain to put into the river of Cambodia ; for I had made the English mate, one Mr. Thompson, captain, not being willing to take the charge of the ship upon myself.

While we were here, and going often on shore for refreshment, there comes to me one day an Englishman, and he was, it seems, a gunner's mate on board an English East India ship, which rode in the same river, up at or near the city of Cambodia. What brought him hither we knew not at the time ; but he comes up to me, and, speaking English, "Sir," says he, "you are a stranger to me, and I to you ; but I have something to tell you, that very nearly concerns you."

I looked steadily at him a good while, and thought at first I had known him, but I did not. "If it very nearly concerns me," said I, "and not yourself, what moves you to tell it me ?" "I am moved," says he, "by the imminent danger you are in ; and, for aught I see, you have no knowledge of it." "I know no danger I am in," said I, "but that my ship is leaky, and I cannot find the leak out ; but I purpose to lay her aground to-morrow, to see if I can find it." "But, sir," says he, "leaky or not leaky, find it or not find it, you will be wiser than to lay your ship on shore to-morrow, when you hear what I have to say to you. Do you know, sir," said he, "the town of Cambodia lies about fifteen leagues up this river ? And there are two large English ships about five leagues on this side, and three Dutch." "Well," said I, "and what is that to me ?" "Why, sir," says he, "is it for a man that is upon such adventures as you are, to come into a port, and not examine first what ships there are there, and whether he is able to deal with them ? I suppose you do not think you are a match for them ?" I was amused very much at his discourse, but not amazed at it ; for I could not conceive what he meant ; and I turned short upon him, and said, "Sir, I wish you would explain yourself ; I cannot imagine what reason I have to be afraid of any Company's ships, or Dutch ships ; I am no interloper ; what can they have to say to me ?"

He looked like a man half angry, half pleased ; and, pausing awhile,

but smiling, "Well, sir," says he, "if you think yourself secure, you must take your chance; I am sorry your fate should blind you against good advice; but assure yourself, if you do not put to sea immediately, you will the very next tide be attacked by five long-boats full of men; and, perhaps, if you are taken, you will be hanged for a pirate, and the particulars be examined afterwards. I thought, sir," added he, "I should have met with a better reception than this, for doing you a piece of service of such importance." "I can never be ungrateful," said I, "for any service, or to any man that offers me any kindness; but it is past my comprehension what they should have such a design upon me for. However, since you say there is no time to be lost, and that there is some villanous design in hand against me, I will go on board this minute, and put to sea immediately, if my men can stop the leak, or if we can swim without stopping it. But, sir," said I, "shall I go away ignorant of the reason of all this? Can you give me no further light into it?"

"I can tell you part of the story, sir," says he; "but I have a Dutch seaman here with me, and, I believe, I could persuade him to tell you the rest; but there is scarce time for it. But the short of the story is this, the first part of which, I suppose, you know well enough, namely, that you was with this ship at Sumatra; that there your captain was murdered by the Malaccans, with three of his men; and that you, or some of those that were on board with you, ran away with the ship, and are since turned PIRATES. This is the sum of the story, and you will all be seized as pirates, I can assure you; and executed with very little ceremony; for you know merchants' men show but little law to pirates, if they get them into their power."

"Now you speak plain English," said I, "and I thank you; and, though I know nothing that we have done to deserve the character we seem to have, but came honestly and fairly by the ship; yet hearing what you say, and that you seem to mean honestly, I will be upon my guard." "Nay, sir," says he, "do not talk of being upon your guard; the best defence is to be out of the danger: if you have any regard to your life, and the lives of your men, put out to sea without fail at high-water; and as you have a whole tide before you, you will be too far out before they can come down; for they only came away at high-water; and as they have twenty miles to come, you get near two hours of them by the difference of the tide, not reckoning the length of the way; besides, as they are only in boats, they will not venture to follow you far out to sea, especially if it blows."

"Well," says I, "you have been very kind in this: what shall I do

for you to make you amends?" "Sir," says he, "you may not be so willing to make me any amends, because you may not be convinced of the truth of it: I will make an offer to you; I have nineteen months' pay due to me on board the ship —, in which I came out from England; and the Dutchman, that is with me, has seven months' pay due to him; if you will make good our pay to us, we will go along with you. If you find nothing more in it, we will desire no more; but if we convince you, that we have saved your lives, and the ship, and the lives of all the men in her, we will leave the rest to you."

I consented readily to this, and went immediately on board, and the two men with me. As soon as I came to the ship's side, my partner, who was on board, came on the quarter-deck, and called to me with great joy, singing out, "We have stopped the leak! we have stopped the leak!" "Say you so?" said I; "thank God; but weigh the anchor then immediately." "Weigh!" says he, "what do you mean by that? What is the matter?" "Ask no questions," says I, "but all hands up anchor without losing a minute." He was surprised; but called the captain, and he immediately ordered the anchor to be got up; and a little land-breeze blowing, we stood out to sea; then I called him into the cabin, and told him the story at large; and we called in the men, and they told us the rest of it; but as it took us up a great deal of time before we had done, a seaman comes to the cabin-door, and calls out to us, that the captain bade him tell us, we were chased. "Chased!" said I, "by whom, and by what?" "By five sloops, or boats," says the fellow, "full of men." "Very well," said I; "then there is something in it." I now ordered all the men to be mustered, and told them briefly that there was a design to seize the ship, and to take us for pirates; and asked them, if they would stand by us, and by one another? The men answered, cheerfully, that one and all, they would live and die with us. Then I asked the captain what way he thought best for us to manage a fight with them; for resist them I was resolved we would, and that to the last drop. He said, readily, that the way was to keep them off with our great shot as long as we could, and then to fire at them with our small arms, as long as we could; if they were too strong for us, then we should retire to our close quarters; perhaps they had not materials to break open our bulk-heads, or get in upon us.

The gunner had, in the mean time, trained two guns to bear fore and aft, out of the steerage, to clear the deck, and loaded them with musket-bullets, and small pieces of old iron, and whatever came to hand; and thus we made ready for fight; but all the while keeping out to sea. We could see, at a distance, five large long boats following us, with all

the sail they could make. Two we could see, by our glasses, which were English, out-sailed the rest, and were nearly two leagues a-head of the others, and gained upon us considerably, and likely to come up with us. We fired a gun therefore without a shot, to intimate that they should bring to ; and we put out a flag of truce as a signal for parley ; but they kept crowding after us, till they came within shot. Upon this we took in our white flag, they having made no answer to it, hung out the red flag, and fired at them with a shot. Notwithstanding this, they came on till we could call to them with a speaking trumpet, ordering them to keep off at their peril. They still crowded after us, and endeavoured to come under our stern, so to board us on our quarter. Seeing them resolute for mischief, I ordered the ship to bring to, so that they lay upon our broadside, when we fired five guns at them ; one of them had been levelled so truly as to carry away the stern of the hindmost boat, and compel them to take down their sail, all running to the head of the boat to keep her from sinking ; she lay by, having had enough of it ; but the foremost boat still crowding after us, we made ready to receive her.

While this was going on, another of the three boats made up to the boat which we had disabled, to relieve her ; and we could afterwards see her take out the men. We called again to the foremost boat, and asked her business with us, but had no answer ; only she crowded close under our stern. Upon this our gunner, a dexterous fellow, run out his two chase guns, and again fired at her ; but the shot missing, the men in the boat shouted, waved their caps, and came on ; getting quickly ready again, the gunner fired among them the second time ; one shot fell among the men, and as we could easily see, had done a great deal of mischief ; taking no notice of that we wearied the ship again, and brought our quarter to bear upon them ; and, firing three more guns, the boat was split almost to pieces, her rudder, and a piece of her stern, shot away ; so they handed their sail immediately, and were in great disorder. Our gunner let fly two more guns at them again ; where he hit them we could not see, but seeing the boat was sinking, and some of the men already in the water, I manned the pinnace, which was kept close by our side, with orders to pick up as many as they could before the boats came up. Three men were picked up, one of whom was just drowning, and it was a good while before we could recover him. As soon as they were on board we crowded all the sail, and stood farther out to sea. When the other three boats came up to the first two, they gave over their chase.

Being thus delivered from a great danger, we changed our course, so

as to conceal whither we were going ; so we stood out to sea eastward, quite out of the course of all European ships, whether they were bound to China, or anywhere else, within the commerce of the European nations.

When at sea we learnt from the two seamen the meaning of all that had passed ; we found also that we had the credit of being a set of pirates who had already taken an English and two Dutch ships very richly laden. This was a report which required immediate refutation ; this could only be done by returning at once to Bengal, from whence we came, without putting in at any port whatever ; there we could give account of ourselves, could prove where we were when the ship put in, who we bought her of, and the like ; we should be sure to have some justice, and not be hanged first and judged afterwards. But then came the consideration that we were on the wrong side of the straits of Malacca ; and that if the alarm were given, we should be waylaid by the Dutch of Batavia as well as the English elsewhere ; that if we should be taken, as it were, running away, we should even condemn ourselves, and there would want no more evidence to destroy us.

This danger a little startled my partner, and it was resolved to go away to the coast of Tonquin, and so on to the coast of China ; and pursuing the first design, as to trade, find some way or other to dispose of the ship, and come back in some of the vessels of the country. Accordingly we steered away N.N.E. keeping above fifty leagues off from the usual course to the eastward. My partner, who was well acquainted with the coast, was to put into some port on the coast of Cochin-china, or the bay of Tonquin ; intending to go afterwards to Macao, a town once in the possession of the Portuguese, and where still a great many European families resided, particularly the missionary priests who usually went thither, in order to their going forward to China. And accordingly, though after a tedious and irregular course, and very much straitened for provisions, we came within sight of the coast very early one morning. Upon reflection we resolved to put into a small river, which, however, had depth enough of water for us, and to see if we could, either overland or by the ship's pinnace, come to know what ships were in the port thereabouts. This happy step was, indeed, our deliverance ; for, though we did not immediately see any European ships in the bay, yet the next morning there came two Dutch ships, and a third without colours, which we believed to be a Dutchman, also passed by at about two leagues' distance, steering for the coast of China ; and in the afternoon two English ships passed,

steering the same course. The place we were in was wild and barbarous, the people thieves, even by occupation or profession. Nevertheless, as our ship had never quite recovered her trim after the leak which we succeeded in stopping so fortunately, we resolved, while we were in this place, to lay her on shore, take out what heavy things we had on board, which were not many, and to wash and clean her bottom, and if possible, to find out where the leaks were. Accordingly, having lightened the ship, and brought all our guns, and other moveable things, to one side, we tried to bring her down, that we might come at her bottom ; but, on second thoughts, we did not care to lay her dry on ground, neither could we find out a proper place for it. The inhabitants, seeing the ship down on one side in such a manner, and heeling towards the shore, and not seeing our men, who were at work on her bottom, with stages, and with their boats on the off side, they presently concluded that the ship was cast away.

On this supposition they came all about us in two or three hours' time, with ten or twelve large boats, having some of them eight, some ten men in a boat, intending, no doubt, to have come on board and plundered the ship ; and if they found us there, to have carried us away for slaves. When they came to the ship, however, and began to row round her, they discovered us all hard at work on the outside of the ship's bottom and side, washing and graving, and stopping, as every seafaring man knows how. They stood for a while gazing at us, and we, who were a little surprised, could not imagine what their design was ; but being willing to be sure, we sent some of the hands into the ship, to hand down arms and ammunition to those that were at work to defend themselves with, if there should be occasion ; and it was no more than need ; for they agreed, it seems, that the ship was really a wreck ; that we were all at work, endeavouring to save her, or to save our lives by the help of our boats ; and when we handed our arms into the boats, they concluded, by that motion, that we were endeavouring to save some of our goods. Upon this they came down upon us, as if it had been in a line of battle. Our men, seeing so many of them, were frightened at first ; for we lay in a bad posture to fight, but I called to the men who worked upon the stages, to slip down, and get up the side into the ship ; and those in the boats I ordered to row round and come on board, while the few of us who were on board worked with all the strength we had, to bring the ship to rights ; but neither the men upon the stage nor those in the boats could do as they were ordered, before the enemy were upon them. Two of their boats boarded our long-boat, and attempted to lay hold of the men.

The first man they laid hold of was an English seaman, a stout fellow, who, having a musket in his hand, laid it down in the boat, like a fool, as I thought. But he knew what he was about ; for he grappled his antagonist, and dragged him by main force out into our boat, where, taking him by the two ears, he beat his head so against the boat's gunnel that the fellow died in his hands. In the mean time, a Dutchman, who stood next, took up the musket, and with the butt-end of it, knocked down five of those who attempted to enter the boat. But this was doing little towards resisting thirty or forty men, who, fearless, because ignorant of their danger, began to throw themselves into the long-boat, where we had but five men to defend it ; but an accident gave our men a complete victory, which deserved our laughter rather than anything else ; and that was this.

The carpenter was preparing to grave the outside of the ship, and pay the seams where he had caulked her, to stop the leaks, and had



two kettles, one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with rosin, tallow, and oil, just ready to let down into the boat ; and the carpenter's assistant had a great iron ladle in his hand, with which he supplied the men that were at work with the stuff. Two of the enemy's men entered the boat just where this fellow stood, being in the fore-sheets ; he immediately saluted them with a ladleful of the stuff, boiling hot, which, being half naked, so burnt and scalded them that they roared out like two bulls, and leaped both into the sea. The carpenter saw the result with great satisfaction, and cried out, "Well done, Jack,

give them some more of it ;" and stepping forward himself, takes a mop, and dipping it into the pitch-pot, he threw it among them so plentifully, that they were scalded and burnt in a most frightful manner, and made such a howling as never was heard before ; for it is worth observing that though pain naturally makes all people cry out, yet every nation has a particular mode of exclamation, and makes noises as different from one another as is their speech. The noise these creatures made was howling, for I never heard anything more like the noise of the wolves which I heard in the forest of Languedoc.

I was never better pleased with a victory, for we obtained it almost without bloodshed ; our danger was imminent ; but I was sick of killing these poor wretches, even in my own defence, for they knew no better, and in attacking us followed their instincts ; and I thought it was a sad life, which could only be preserved by killing our fellow-creatures. While this was doing, we had with great dexterity brought the ship almost to rights ; and, having shipped the guns again, the gunner called to me, to bid our boat get out of the way, for he would let fly among them. I requested him not to fire, for the carpenter would do the work with the help of another pitch-kettle, which the cook was preparing. But the enemy had enough of it in their first attack, they would not come on again ; and seeing the ship afloat, as it were, and upright, begun to see their mistake, and gave over the enterprise. Thus we got clear of this merry fight ; and, having got some rice, and some roots and bread, with about sixteen good big hogs, on board, two days before, we resolved to stay here no longer, but go forward, whatever came of it, having no desire to ply our pitch-kettle in a second attack.

We therefore got all our things on board the same evening, and the next day, having finished our work on board, and finding our ship was perfectly cured of her leaks, we set sail, keeping to the N.E. towards the isle of Formosa, where we came to an anchor, in order to get water and fresh provisions. From hence we sailed still north, keeping the coast of China, till we knew we were beyond all the ports, where European ships usually come. Being now in latitude of 30°, we resolved to stand in for the shore ; a boat came off two leagues to us, with an old Portuguese pilot on board, who came to offer his service. We took him on board ; upon which, without asking us whither we would go, he dismissed the boat. Thinking that we might take the old man where we would, I began to talk with him about carrying us to the gulf of Nanquin, which he readily agreed to, and while we were still in discourse, the ship went forward, and, in about thirteen days' sail, came to anchor in

the south-west point of the great gulf of Nanquin. When we came on shore, the old pilot, who was now a firm friend, got us a lodging, and also a warehouse for our goods; he also brought us acquainted with three missionary Romish priests, who were in town, and who had been there some time. One of these was a Frenchman, father Simon; he was a jolly well-conditioned man, very free in his conversation, not seeming so serious and grave as the others, a Portuguese and a Genoese; but father Simon was courteous, easy in his manner, and very agreeable company; the other two were more reserved, seemed rigid and austere, and applied seriously to the work they came about.



Father Simon was appointed to go up to Pekin, the royal seat of the Chinese emperor; and waited only for another priest, who was ordered to come to him from Macao, to go along with him; and we scarce ever met, without an urgent invitation to accompany him on his journey. He would show me all the glorious things of that mighty empire; and among the rest, the greatest city in the world; "a city," said he, "that your London, and our Paris, put together, cannot be equal to." This was the city of Pekin. Dining with him one day, and being very merry together, I showed some little inclination to go with him, and he pressed me and my partner very hard, and with a great many persuasions, to consent. "Why, father Simon," says my partner, "why should you desire our company so much? You know we are heretics, and you do not love us, nor can you keep us company with any pleasure." "O!" says he, "you may, perhaps, be good catholics in time; my business here is to convert heathens; and who knows but I may convert you too?" "Very well, father," said I, "so you

will preach to us all the way." "I will not be troublesome to you," says he; "our religion does not divest us of good manners;" besides, says he, "we are here like countrymen; and so we are, compared to the place we are in;" and if you are Huguenots, and I a Catholic, we may be all Christians at last; at least," said he, "we are all gentlemen, and we may converse so, without being uneasy to one another." In the meantime we had our ships and merchandize to dispose of; our old Portuguese pilot brought a Japan merchant to us, who bought all our opium, and gave us a very good price for it, paying us in gold by weight, some in small pieces of their own coin, and some in small wedges, of about ten or eleven ounces each. While we were dealing with him for our opium, it came into my head that he might, perhaps, deal with us for the ship too; and I ordered the interpreter to propose it to him. He shrunk up his shoulders at it, when it was first proposed to him; but, in a few days after, he came to me, with one of the missionary priests for his interpreter, and told me, he had a proposal to make to me, it was this: He had bought a great quantity of goods of us when he had no thoughts of buying the ship; and that, therefore, he had not money enough to pay for the ship; but if I would let the same men who were in the ship navigate her, he would hire the ship to go to Japan, and would send them from thence to the Philippine islands with another loading, which he would pay the freight of, before they went from Japan; and that, at their return from that voyage, he would buy the ship. I began to listen to this proposal; and so eager did my head still run upon rambling, that I began to entertain a notion of going myself with him, and so to sail from the Philippine islands away to the South Seas; and accordingly I asked the Japanese merchant, if he would not hire us to the Philippine islands, and discharge us there. He said, no, he could not do that; for then he could not have the return of his cargo; but he would discharge us in Japan, he said, at the ship's return. Well, still I was for taking him at that proposal, and going myself; but my partner, wiser than I, persuaded me from it, representing the dangers, as well of the seas as of the Japanese, who are a false, cruel, and treacherous people; and then of the Spaniards at the Philippines; more false, more cruel, and more treacherous than they.

We were now on shore in China. In the meantime, we visited the city of Nanquin, a ten days' journey into the interior, and at a future period we accompanied father Simon to Peking, which occupied us twenty-four days. The people we found haughty, imperious and insolent, in the midst of the grossest simplicity and ignorance; for all

their famed ingenuity is no more. And my friend, father Simon, and I used to be very merry upon these occasions, to see the beggarly pride of these people : for example, coming by the house of a country gentleman, as father Simon called him, about ten leagues off of the city of Nanquin, we had, first of all, the honour to ride with the master of the house about two miles ; the state he rode in, being a strange mixture of pomp and poverty. The habit of this greasy Don was very proper for a scaramouch, or merry-andrew, being a dirty calico, with all the tawdry and trapping of a fool's coat, such as hanging sleeves, tassels, and cuts and slashes almost on every side ; it covered a taffety vest, as greasy as a butcher, and which testified, that his honour must needs be a most exquisite sloven.



His horse was a poor, lean, starved, hobbling creature, such as in England might sell for about thirty or forty shillings ; and he had two slaves following him on foot, to drive the poor creature along : he had a whip in his hand, and he belaboured the beast as fast about the head as his slaves did about the tail ; and thus he rode by us with about ten or twelve servants ; and we were told he was going from the city to his country seat, about half a league before us. We travelled on gently, but this figure of a gentleman rode away before us ; and as we stopped at a village about an hour to refresh us, when we came by the country seat of this great man, we saw him in a little place before his door, eating his repast ; it was a kind of a garden, but he was easy to be seen ; and we were given to understand, that the more we looked on him, the better he would be pleased.

At length we arrived at Pekin : I had nobody with me but the

youth, whom my nephew the captain had left to attend upon me as a servant, and who proved very trusty and diligent ; and my partner had nobody with him but one servant, who was a kinsman. As for the Portuguese pilot, he being desirous to see the court, we bore his charges and used him as an interpreter, for he understood the language of the country, and spoke good French and a little English ; and, indeed, this old man was most useful to us everywhere, for we had not been above a week at Pekin when he came to us laughing : " Ah, Seignior Inglese," says he, " I have something to tell you, will make your heart glad." " What can that be ?" says I ; " I do not know anything in this country that can either give me joy or grief." " Yes, yes," said the old man in broken English, " make you glad, me sorrow ;" sorry he would have said. This made me more inquisitive. " Why," said I, " will it make you sorry ?" " Because," said he, " you have brought me here twenty-five days' journey, and will leave me to go back alone ; and which way shall I get to my port afterwards, without a ship, without a horse, without pecune ?" So he called money, in his broken Latin, of which he had abundance to make us merry withal.

In short, he told us there was a great caravan of Muscovite and Polish merchants in the city, and they were preparing to journey, by land, to Muscovy, and he was sure we would take the opportunity to go with them. I confess I was surprised with this news ; a secret joy spread itself over my whole soul, which I cannot describe ; at last I turned to him—" How do you know this ?" said I. Says he, " I met this morning an old acquaintance of mine, an Armenian, or one you call a Greek, who is among them ; he came last from Astracan, and was designing to go to Tonquin, but has altered his mind, and is now resolved to go with the caravan to Moscow, and so down the river Wolga to Astracan. " Well, seignior," says I, " do not be uneasy about being left to go back alone ; if I return to England by this means it shall be your fault if you go back to Macao at all." We then consulted together ; my partner told me he would do just as I would ; for he had settled all his affairs so well at Bengal, and left his effects in such good hands, and had made so good a voyage here, if he could vest it in China silks, wrought and raw, such as might be worth the carriage, he would be content to go to England, and make his voyage back to Bengal by one of the company's ships.

Having resolved upon this, we agreed, that if our Portugal pilot would go with us, we would not only bear his charges to Moscow, or to England, but we agreed to give him a quantity of coined gold for

his services, which, as I compute it, came to about 175 pounds sterling between us.

It was the beginning of February, our style, when we set out from Pekin. I had bought ninety pieces of fine damasks, with about two hundred pieces of other very fine silks, of several sorts, some mixed with gold. Besides this we bought a very large quantity of raw silk, and some other goods, which loaded in all eighteen camels for our share, besides those we rode upon; which, with two or three spare horses, and two horses loaded with provisions, made us, in short, twenty-six camels and horses in our retinue. The company was very great, and as near as I can remember, made between three and four hundred horse, and upward of a hundred and twenty men, very well armed, and provided for all events. For, as the eastern caravans are subject to be attacked by the Arabs, so are these by the Tartars. There were people of several nations, Muscovites chiefly; for there were above sixty of them who were merchants or inhabitants of Moscow, though of them some were Livonians; and, to our particular satisfaction, five of them were Scots, who appeared also to be men of great experience, and of very good substance.

When we had travelled one day's journey, the guides, who were five in number, called all the gentlemen and merchants to a great council, as they called it. At this great council every one deposited a certain quantity of money to a common stock, for the necessary expense of buying forage on the way, where it was not otherwise to be had, and for satisfying the guides, getting horses, and the like. And here they constituted the journey, as they called it, namely: they named captains and officers to draw us all up, and give the command in case of an attack, and gave every one their turn of command.

In two days more we passed the great China wall, made for protection against the Tartars; and a very great work it is, going over hills and mountains where the rocks are impassable, and over precipices such as no enemy could possibly climb. They tell us its length is near a thousand English miles; but that the country is five hundred, in a straight measured line, which the wall bounds, without measuring the windings and turnings it takes; it is about four fathom high, and as many thick in some places.

After we had passed this mighty nothing, called a wall, we began to find the country thinly inhabited, and the people living in fortified towns and cities, being subject to the inroads and depredations of the Tartars, who rove about in troops or hordes, keeping no order, and understanding no discipline; their horses are poor, lean, starved

creatures, taught nothing, and fit for nothing. Our leader for the day gave leave for about sixteen of us to go a hunting, as they call it ; and what was this but a hunting of sheep ! However, it may be called hunting, too ; for the creatures are the wildest and swiftest of foot that ever I saw of their kind ; only they will not run a great way, and you are sure of sport when you begin the chase ; for they appear generally thirty or forty in a flock, and, like true sheep, always keep together when they fly.

In pursuit of this odd sort of game, it was our hap to meet with about forty Tartars. Whether they were hunting mutton as we were, or whether they looked for another kind of prey, I know not ; but as soon as they saw us one of them blew a kind of a horn very loud, but with a barbarous sound that I had never heard before ; and, by the way, never care to hear again. One of the Scots merchants of Moscow happened to be amongst us, and told us that we had nothing to do but to charge them immediately, without loss of time ; and drawing us up in a line, he asked if we were ready to follow him, and rode directly up to them. They stood gazing at us, but as soon as they saw us advance they let fly their arrows, which, however, missed us very happily.

We halted, and fired, sending them leaden bullets for wooden arrows, following our shot full gallop, sword in hand ; for so our bold Scot directed. He showed such vigour, bravery, and cool courage on this occasion, that I never saw any man in action fitter for command. As soon as we came up to them, we fired our pistols in their faces, and then drew ; but they fled in the greatest confusion imaginable ; the only stand any of them made was on our right, where three, having a kind of scimitar in their hands, and their bows hanging at their backs, by signs, called the rest to come back. Our brave commander gallops up close to them, and with his fusil knocks one of them off his horse, killed the second with his pistol, and the third ran away ; and thus ended our fight ; but all our mutton got away. We had not a man killed or hurt ; but, as for the Tartars, there were about five of them killed ; who were wounded, we knew not.

We were all this while in the Chinese dominions, but in about five days we entered a vast great wild desert, which held us three days and nights' march ; and we were obliged to carry our water with us in great leather bottles, and to encamp all night. A kind of border that might be called No Man's Land ; being a part of the Great Karakathy, or Grand Tartary.

We saw two or three times little parties of the Tartars, and once a

party of them came so near as to stand and gaze at us, doubtful, apparently, whether to attack us or not. We travelled near a month after this, the ways being not so good as at first, though still in the dominions of the Emperor of China ; but lay, for the most part, in villages, some of which were fortified, because of the incursions of the Tartars.

At one of these towns, wishing to buy a camel, and having agreed for the price, I was coming away, when, on a sudden, came up five Tartars on horseback ; two of them seized the fellow leading the camel, while the other three stepped up to me and my old pilot ; seeing us, as it were, unarmed, for I had no weapon about me but my sword, which could but ill defend me against three horsemen. The first that came up stopped short upon my drawing my sword ; but a second coming upon my left, gave me a blow on the head, which I never felt till afterwards, and wondered, when I came to myself, what was the matter with me, and where I was, for he laid me flat on the ground ; but my never-



failing old pilot, the Portuguese, having a pistol in his pocket, and seeing me down, stepped up to the fellow that had struck me, and pulling him by main force a little towards him with the other, he shot him in the head, laying him dead on the spot ; he then stepped up to him who had stopped us, made a blow at him with his scimitar, but missing the man, cut his horse into the side of his head, cut one of his ears off by the root, and a great slice down the side of his face. The poor beast, enraged with the wound, was no more to be governed by his rider ; but away he flew, and carried him quite out of the pilot's reach ;

and at some distance, rising up upon his hind legs, threw down the Tartar, and fell upon him.

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By this victory we lost a camel and gained a horse. When we came back to the village the man demanded to be paid for the camel ; I disputed it, and it was brought to a hearing before the Chinese judge of the place. To give him his due, he acted with a great deal of prudence and impartiality ; and having heard both sides, he gravely asked the Chinese man that went with me to buy the camel, whose servant he was ? “ I am no servant,” says he, “ but went with the stranger.” “ At whose request ? ” says the justice. “ At the stranger’s request,” says he. “ Why, then,” said the justice, “ you were the stranger’s servant for the time, and the camel being delivered to his servant, it was delivered to him, and he must pay for it.” I confess the thing was so clear, that I had not a word to say ; I paid willingly for the camel, and sent for another.

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party of them came so near as to stand and gaze at us, doubtful, apparently, whether to attack us or not. We travelled near a month after this, the ways being not so good as at first, though still in the dominions of the Emperor of China ; but lay, for the most part, in villages, some of which were fortified, because of the incursions of the Tartars.

At one of these towns, wishing to buy a camel, and having agreed for the price, I was coming away, when, on a sudden, came up five Tartars on horseback ; two of them seized the fellow leading the camel, while the other three stepped up to me and my old pilot ; seeing us, as it were, unarmed, for I had no weapon about me but my sword, which could but ill defend me against three horsemen. The first that came up stopped short upon my drawing my sword ; but a second coming upon my left, gave me a blow on the head, which I never felt till afterwards, and wondered, when I came to myself, what was the matter with me, and where I was, for he laid me flat on the ground ; but my never-



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destruction that we intended for it. It was too bulky to be carried away, so we were at a loss again. "Well then," said the Scots merchant, "I will tell you what we will do; we will try to take them prisoners, tie their hands behind them, and make them stand still, and see their idol destroyed."

We knocked gently, and seized them as they came out, and immediately tied them. The last of them stepping back, and crying out, my Scots merchant went in after him, and taking out a composition we had made, that would only smoke and stink, he set fire to it, and threw it among them: by that time the other Scotsman and my man taking charge of the two men who were already bound, and tied together also by the arm, led them away to the idol, and left them there. The fuze we had thrown in, soon filled the hut with so much smoke, that they were almost suffocated; we then threw in a small leather bag of another kind, which flamed like a candle, and, following it in, we found there were but four



people left, two men and two women, engaged, as we supposed, about some of their diabolic sacrifices. They appeared, in short, frightened to death, at least so as to sit trembling and stupid, and not able to speak, neither, for the smoke. We bound them as we had the other, and all without any noise. When we had done this, and carried them all together to the idol, we fell to work, and first daubed it all over with tar, and such other stuff as we had, then we stopped his eyes, and ears, and mouth with gunpowder; and wrapped up a great piece of wild-fire in his bonnet; and then sticking all the combustibles we had brought with us upon him, we looked about to see if we could find anything

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else to help to burn him ; when my man remembered, that by the tent, or hut, where the men were, there lay a heap of dry forage, which he and one of the Scotsmen run and fetched their arms full of. Now we took all our prisoners, and brought them, having untied their feet and ungagged their mouths, and set them just before their monstrous idol, and then set fire to the whole.

We stayed by it a quarter of an hour, or thereabouts, till the powder in the eyes, and mouth, and ears of the idol blew up, and, we could perceive, had split and deformed the shape ; and, in a word, till we saw it burn into a mere block or log of wood ; and then setting the dry forage to it, we found it would be quite consumed ; when we began to think of going away ; but the Scotsman said, "No, we must not go ; for these poor deluded wretches will all throw themselves into the fire, and burn themselves with the idol." So we resolved to stay till the forage was burnt down too, and then we came away and left them.

In the morning we appeared among our fellow travellers, exceeding busy in getting ready for our journey ; nor could any man suppose that we had been anywhere but in our beds. But it did not end so ; the next day came a great multitude of the country people, not only of this village, but of a hundred more, for aught I know, to the town gates ; and, in a most outrageous manner, demanded satisfaction of the Russian governor, for the insulting their priests, and burning their great Cham-Chi-Thaungu.

The governor told them there was a caravan gone towards Russia that morning, and the caravan having a hint from the governor, marched two days and two nights without any considerable stop, fortunately taking the south side of the Lake *Schanks Osker*, while the pursuers took the north. After journeying three days, they found their mistake, and came pouring in upon us, towards the dusk one evening. The enemy did not come on us like thieves, as we expected, but sent three messengers to demand the men to be delivered to them, that had abused their priests. The leader of the caravan sent word that he was well assured it was not done by any of our camp ; that we were peaceable merchants, and we had done no harm to them, or to any one else ; and that therefore they must look farther for their enemies. They were far from being satisfied with this for an answer ; but a cunning fellow, a Cossack, in the pay of the Muscovites, relieved us from this great danger. Taking his bow and arrows, and getting on horseback, he rides away from our rear back, taking a great circuit, and coming to the army of the Tartars, as if he had been sent express after them, he tells them that the people who had burnt their Cham-

Chi-Thaungu were gone to Sibeilka, a town four or five days to the south, with another caravan. In less than three hours they were entirely out of our sight, and we never heard any more of them, but passed safely on to the city of Jarawena. From this city we had a frightful desert, which held us three-and-twenty days' march. After we had passed this desert, we came into a country pretty well inhabited. After this we had to pass the nation of the Tonguees. Having passed through this country, and another desert of at least four hundred miles, we came to Janezay, a Muscovite city or station, on the great river of that name, which, they told us, parted Europe from Asia. From this river to the great river Oby, we crossed a wild uncultivated country, whither the Muscovite criminals, that are not put to death, are banished.

I have nothing material to say of my particular affairs, till I came to Tobolski, the capital city of Siberia, where I thought it much my better way to let the caravan go on, and to make provision to winter where I was, in the latitude of sixty degrees. This being the country where the state criminals of Muscovy are all banished, this city was full of noblemen, princes, gentlemen, colonels, and, in short, all degrees of the nobility, gentry, soldiery, and courtiers of Muscovy. Here was the famous Prince Galitzen, the old general Robostisky, and several other persons of note, and some ladies.

By means of my Scots merchant, who, nevertheless, I parted with here, I made an acquaintance with several of these gentlemen, and some of them of the first rank; and from these, in the long winter nights, in which I stayed here, I received several very agreeable visits. Among others the Prince —, one of the banished ministers of state belonging to the Czar of Muscovy. My measures being fixed, for Archangel, and not for Muscovy, or the Baltic, about the latter end of May, I began to pack up. Before leaving I sent my servant to the prince, with a small present of tea, and two pieces of China damask, and four little wedges of Japan gold, which did not all weigh above six ounces, or thereabout; but were far short of the value of his sables, which, indeed, when I came to England, I found worth near two hundred pounds. He accepted the tea and one piece of the damask, and one of the pieces of gold, which had a fine stamp upon it, of the Japan coinage, which I found he took for the rarity of it, but would not take any more, and he sent word by my servant that he desired to speak with me. Thinking how easy it would have been to have taken any of these exiles with me, I had proposed to the prince to make his escape with me, engaging to put him on board an English or Dutch ship, which he had declined.

When I came to him, he told me, I knew what had passed between us, and hoped I would not move him any more in that affair ; but that, since I had made such a generous offer to him, he asked me if I had kindness enough to offer the same to another person that he would name to me, in whom he took a great interest. I told him that I could not say I inclined to do so much for any one but himself, for whom I had a particular respect, and should have been glad to have been the instrument of his deliverance ; however, if he would please to name the person to me, I would give him my answer, and hoped he would not be displeased with me, if he was with my answer. He told me it was only his son, who, though I had not seen, was in the same condition with himself, and above two hundred miles from him, on the other side the Oby ; but that, if I consented, he would send for him.

I made no hesitation, but told him I would do it. I made some ceremony in letting him understand that it was wholly on his account ; and that seeing I could not prevail on him, I would show my respect to him by my concern for his son ; but these things are too tedious to repeat here. He sent away the next day for his son, and in about twenty days he came back with the messenger, bringing six or seven horses loaded with very rich furs, and which, in the whole, amounted to a very great value. His servants brought the horses into the town, but left the young lord at a distance till night, when he came incognito into our apartment, and his father presented him to me ; and, in short, we concerted there the manner of our travelling, and every thing proper for the journey.

It was the beginning of June when I left this remote place, a city, I believe, little heard of in the world ; and, indeed, it is so far out of the road of commerce, that I know not how it should be talked of. We now formed a very small caravan, being only thirty-two horses and camels in all, and all of them passed for mine, though my new guest was proprietor of eleven of them. It was most natural, also, that I should take more servants with me than I had before, and the young lord passed for my steward ; what great man I passed for myself I forget now. We had here the worst and the largest desert to pass over that we met with in all the journey ; indeed I call it the worst, because the way was very deep in some places, and very uneven in others ; the best we had to say for it, was, that we thought we had no troops of Tartars and robbers to fear, for they never came on this side the river Oby, or at least but very seldom ; but we found it otherwise.

My young lord had with him a faithful Muscovite servant, or rather

a Siberian servant, who was perfectly acquainted with the country ; and led us by private roads, so that we avoided coming into the principal towns and cities upon the great road, such as Tumen, Soloy Kamaskoy, and several others ; where the Muscovite garrisons are very curious and strict in their observation upon travellers, fearing lest any of the banished persons of note should make their escape that way into Muscovy ; by this means, as we were kept out of the cities, so our whole journey was through a desert, and we were obliged to encamp and lie in our tents.

We entered Europe, having passed the river Kama, which, in these parts, is the boundary between Europe and Asia ; and the first city on the European side was called Soloy Kamaskoy, the great city on the river Kama ; beyond this, we had a vast desert to pass, which, by relation, is near seven hundred miles long in some places, and covered with forests. In passing this forest, after all our danger had in imagination disappeared, I thought we must have been plundered and robbed, and even murdered by a troop of thieves ; of what country they were, whether the roving bands of the Ostiachi, or wild people on the bank of the Oby, who had ranged thus far ; or whether they were the sable-hunters of Siberia, I am at a loss to know ; but they were all on horseback, carried bows and arrows, and were at first about five-and-forty in number ; they came within about two musket shot of us, surrounding us with their horse, and looked very earnestly upon us ; upon which we drew up in a little line before our camels, being sixteen men in all. I did not feel that we were quite safe where we were, but at about a quarter of a mile's distance off on our left, was a little grove or clump of trees, which stood close together, and very near the road ; I immediately resolved to advance to those trees, and fortify ourselves there as well as we could. We advanced immediately with what speed we could, and gained that little wood, the Tartars making no attempt to hinder us. When we came thither, we found, to our great satisfaction, that it was a swampy, springy piece of ground, and, on the one side, a very great spring of water, which running out in a little rill or brook, was a little farther off joined by another of the like bigness ; it was, in short, the head or source of a considerable river, called the Wirtska. The trees growing about this spring were not above two hundred, but were very large and stood pretty thick ; so that as soon as we got in, we saw ourselves perfectly safe from the enemy, unless they alighted and attacked us on foot.

But to make this more difficult, our Portuguese, with indefatigable application, cut down great arms of the trees, and laid them hanging,

not cut quite off, from one tree to another ; so that he made a continued fence almost round us.

We stayed here, waiting the motion of the enemy some hours, without perceiving they made any motion ; when about two hours before night, they came down directly upon us ; and though we had not perceived it, we now found, that they had been joined by some more, so that they were near fourscore horse, whereof, however, we fancied some were women. They came on till they were within half shot of our little wood, when we fired one musket without ball, and called to them in the Russian tongue, to know what they wanted, and bid them keep off ; but they came on with a double fury directly up to the wood-side, not imagining we were barricaded that they could not break in ; our old pilot was our captain, as well as he had been our engineer ; and desired us not to fire upon them till they came within pistol shot, and that we might be sure to kill : he gave the word to fire when some of them were only within two pikes' length of us, and we aimed



so true, that we killed fourteen of them, and wounded several others as also several of their horses ; for we had all of us loaded our pieces with two or three bullets.

They were terribly surprised with our fire, and retreated immediately about one hundred rods from us ; in which time we loaded our pieces again, and seeing them keep that distance, we sallied out, and caught four or five of their horses, whose riders, we suppose, were killed ; and coming up to the dead, we could easily perceive they were Tartars,

but knew not from what country, or how they came to make an excursion such an unusual length.

About an hour after, they made a motion to attack us again, and rode round our little wood, to see where else they might break in; but finding us always ready to face them, they went off again. We slept little, you may be sure; but spent the most part of the night in strengthening our situation, and barricading the entrances into the wood; keeping a strict watch, we waited for day-light, and, when it came, it gave us a very unwelcome discovery indeed; for the enemy, who, we thought, were discouraged with the reception they had met with, were now increased to no less than three hundred, and had set up eleven or twelve huts and tents, as if they were resolved to besiege us; and this little camp they had pitched upon the open plain, at about three quarters of a mile from us. This was a terrible discovery; I gave myself over for lost. As for my partner he was raging: he declared, that to lose his goods would be his ruin; and he would rather die than be starved; and he was for fighting it out. The young lord also, as gallant as ever flesh showed itself, was for fighting to the last also; and my old pilot was of opinion that we were able to resist them all; but towards evening, we found that the number of our enemies still increased: perhaps, as they were abroad in several parties for prey, the first had sent out scouts to call for help, and to acquaint the others of the booty; and we did not know but by the morning they might still be a greater number; so I began to inquire of those people we had brought from Tobolski, if there was no other or more private ways, by which we might avoid them in the night, and perhaps, either retreat to some town, or get help to guard us over the desert.

The Siberian told us, if we wished to avoid them, and not fight, he would engage to carry us off in the night to a way that went north towards the Petraz, by which he made no question but we might get away, and the Tartars never the wiser; but he said, his lord had told him he would not retreat, but would rather fight. Having satisfied him that his master knew better than to require sixteen men to fight four hundred, we prepared for departure. As soon as it began to be dark, we kindled a fire in our little camp, which we kept burning, and prepared so as to make it burn all night, that the Tartars might conclude we were still there; but, as soon as we could see the stars (for our guide would not stir before), having all our horses and camels ready laden, we followed our new guide, who, I soon found, steered himself by the pole, or north star, all the country being level for a long way.





MOVING OFF AT DARK





MOVING OFF AT DARK



When we had travelled very hard for two hours, it began to be lighter still ; not that it was quite dark all night, but the moon began to rise, so that, in short, it was rather lighter than we wished it to be ; but by six o'clock the next morning we were forty miles off, though the truth is, we almost spoiled our horses. Here we found a Russian village, named Kirmazinskoy, where we rested, and heard nothing of the Kalmuck Tartars that day. About two hours before night we set out again, and travelled till eight the next morning, though not quite so hard as before ; and about seven o'clock we passed a little river, called Kirtza, and came to a large town inhabited by Russians, and very populous, called Ozomys. There we heard, that several troops, or hordes of Kalmucks had been abroad upon the desert, but that we were now completely out of danger from them. Here we were obliged to get some fresh horses, and having need enough of rest, we stayed five days ; my partner and I agreeing to give the honest Siberian, who brought us thither, the value of ten pistoles for his conduct.

In five days more we came to Veussima, upon the river Witzogda, and running into the Dwina ; we were very happily near the end of our travels by land, that river being navigable in seven days' passage to Archangel : from hence we came to Lawrenskoy, the third of July ; and providing ourselves with two luggage-boats, and a barge, for our own convenience, we embarked the seventh, and arrived all safe at Archangel the eighteenth, having been a year and five months and three days on the journey, including our stay of eight months and odd days at Tobolski.

We were obliged to stay at this place six weeks for the arrival of the ships, and must have tarried longer, had not a Hamburger come in above a month sooner than any of the English ships ; considering that the city of Hamburg might happen to be as good a market for our goods as London, we all took freight with him ; and having put my goods on board, it was most natural for me to put my steward on board to take care of them ; by which means my young lord had a sufficient opportunity to conceal himself, never coming on shore in all the time we stayed there ; and this he did, that he might not be seen in the city, where some of the Moscow merchants would certainly have seen and discovered him.

We sailed from Archangel the twentieth of August the same year ; and, after no extraordinary bad voyage, arrived in the Elbe the thirteenth of September. Here my partner and I found a very good sale for our goods, as well those of China as the sables, &c. of Siberia ; and dividing the produce of our effects, my share amounted

to £3,475 17s. 3d. notwithstanding so many losses we had sustained, and charges we had been at; only remembering that I had included in this about six hundred pounds worth of diamonds which I had purchased at Bengal.

Here the young lord took his leave of us, and went up the Elbe, in order to go to the court of Vienna, where he resolved to seek protection, and where he could correspond with those of his father's friends who were left alive. He did not part without all the testimonies he could give me of gratitude for the service I had done him, and his sense of my kindness to the prince his father.

To conclude: having stayed near four months in Hamburgh, I came from thence overland to the Hague, where I embarked in the packet, and arrived in London the 10th of January, 1705, having been gone from England ten years and nine months.

And here, resolving to harass myself no more, I am preparing for a longer journey than all these, having lived seventy-two years a life of infinite variety, and learned sufficiently to know the value of retirement, and the blessing of ending our days in peace.



THE END.





